

ENGLAND'S *Sore Need*
A Benevolent DICTATOR

**SATURDAY
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THE

KING

Reprinted from the "Evening Standard."

Penarth and Lord Cecil

IN the one county of Glamorganshire is concentrated half the population of Wales. That is the result of a redistribution of population which began in Wales nearly a century ago, when the industrial revolution discovered the importance of the coal deposits in the south-eastern valleys. By the eighteen-eighties South Wales had become the foremost coal-exporting area in the world.

Not only was South Wales coal of splendid quality: it was coal produced conveniently near to the sea. In consequence, tiny villages along the Glamorganshire coast became prosperous seaports. The building of docks and of railways from pithead to dock created new opportunities for many thousands of families, and the movement of population into the area continued.

Penarth, a few miles west of Cardiff, was one of those villages which swelled into seaports. The Great Western Railway built docks there. Prospects were bright for Penarth, and the prospects were realised.

But after the Great War came the depression, unemployment in the coalfields, unemployment at the docks; and in 1932 a blow threatened to fall upon Penarth, for it was proposed that, owing to insufficient trade, the docks there should be closed. The alarmed traders of the town urged the railway company to reconsider its proposal. They pointed to signs of returning prosperity. And so the docks were kept open; Penarth continued to receive ships which carried the magnificent coal of South Wales over the seas of the world.

The hope of prosperity was not realised. Penarth Docks, whence 2,245,000 tons of coal and coke were shipped abroad in 1929, exported only 978,000 tons last year. Then the British Government declared sanctions against Italy. The consequence of sanctions was a loss of exports to the South Wales coal trade of from two to three million tons per annum. And so the South Wales coal trade has reached a condition in which the Great Western Railway feels itself forced to order, from July 6, the temporary closing of Penarth Docks. The blow has fallen.

What have the enthusiastic supporters of sanctions to say about this? By what arguments would they justify themselves to a meeting of the towns-folk of Penarth? How *can* one justify a policy which, while failing to achieve its object of stopping a war in Abyssinia, succeeds only in intensifying the distress of a British industrial community?

It must be said that the sanctioneers recognise the futility of the measures so far taken against Italy. But instead of advocating the immediate withdrawal of those measures they call for new ones—stronger ones—measures which would mean war.

"I certainly should be glad if the League Powers would agree to close the Suez Canal and that we should join them in doing so," says Viscount Cecil, the sanctioneer leader, to-day. If in consequence Italy attacked us, he points out, we should not be "making war against Italy for the sake of Abyssinia"; Italy would be making war against us for "discharging our treaty obligations."

The nation is not impressed by this delicate distinction. It is resolved to take no part in a war in which no British interest is at stake. It is resolved to bring to an end without delay the economic sanctions which have damaged our trade to no purpose. The sanctioneers have led this people into folly for the last time.

Reprinted from the "Observer."

What Way Out?

By J. L. Garvin

ONE danger ahead—and possibly we are already at the beginnings—is that the German question may be misreckoned like the Italian question. Another danger is that we may embitter our relations both with France and Germany so as to leave ourselves without an effective friend in the world. This journal has opposed Sanctions not only on all practical grounds, but chiefly for reasons which far-looking advocates of the League and Peace ought to have made their own. From the beginning, through ten months past, ours has been the true battle for both the League and Peace. If that is not clear enough even now, the near sequel will dispel every shadow of doubt.

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It was the least, though lamentable, that Sanctions were bound to fail for their Abyssinian objects. We held among other things that the coercive campaign through Geneva would bring the League itself to the brink of ruin; loosen every stone in the structure of European stability; gravely increase and accelerate the risk of another general catastrophe; while weakening and jeopardising every proper interest of the British Empire in the existing state of its defences.

"Provident Fears"

To entertain "provident fears"—as Burke would call them—is the first article of sagacious courage. Our own fears in this kind have been but too closely fulfilled.

It is unquestionable that we all feel ourselves nearer the risk of general war; and that even former pacifists at any price are talking of it not with active horror, but with a sort of fascinated fatalism which twelve months ago would have been unthinkable. If this is the fact, how does it stand with the League? For all the major purposes originally proclaimed Sanctions in its name have been a fiasco. Owing to this overstrain of an inherently deficient system, the League in its present form—we beg every one of our readers to mark that qualification—has proved a signal failure. Its persistence in some of the courses urged upon it would pervert it into the most perilous institution in the world.

What have been the fundamental causes of these results? Let us be plain about them. First, take the case of Geneva. The League when founded, and including the United States, was meant to embrace by degrees all the Great Powers, and thus to wield a real paramount authority. Geneva to-day represents no such membership, and of that paramount authority cannot claim one particle. Why? When America withdrew and it was seen at length that the new system could not be made universal in the only effective sense, it was still clear to every serious thinker that no amount of dislocated and largely nominal support by the little nations could be a substitute for the decisive condition.

Geneva and the Vital Deficiency

For attempted peace by coercion, whether economic or military, in any serious case, the League never could be successfully worked without at least a strong and agreed majority of the Great Powers.

There is no such strong majority. There is no majority at all. That disappeared by a sardonic paradox when Sanctions were imposed and by the act of imposition. Italy, put to the ban, necessarily became for the time not a supporter but an opponent. Britain, France and Soviet Russia—even these never wholly agreeing in heart, judgment or main aim—remained the only principal nations behind the Geneva decrees.

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A body including only a minority of the Great Powers never can have any legitimate pretension to lay down a "law of the world." It never can have practical force enough to administer such a law nor anything like it. This is the fatal disability to which Geneva has been brought. Its failure is final, so far as existing conditions are concerned, because it speaks for only a minority of the Great Powers, and cannot hope to speak for anything more until it is fully reconstructed and its constitution changed. Neither Germany nor Italy will accept it in its present form, and under the terms of the existing Covenant. It is the end not of a chapter, but of a volume. We shall have to shut that volume and put it away and open a new.

"Back to War"—a Vicious Circle

Next, let us see more particularly why Sanctions have failed. According to the original theory the simple threat of economic coercion would prevent a war. We know what became of that. The next theory was that Sanctions would shorten the war to the advantage of the Abyssinians. We know



what has become of that. The Covenant was to be brilliantly enforced against Italy, if not against Japan; the sovereignty of Geneva was to be exalted; or, as the phrase of the day ran, the League, alas, was to be "strengthened." We know what has become of all that. Pass to the graver point.

It was supposed, at first, that Italy, unlike Japan, would not and could not resist, or not for long, and that the whole business could be carried out on limited liability. We have now learned, and it must never be forgotten again, that Sanctions as applied by the present League mean War and nothing else, and cannot be effective otherwise. The League as originally projected, including America, could have exerted irresistible economic and maritime pressure on any single recalcitrant nation. Not so now. By no means.

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When Italy, like Japan, defied the present inadequate League—further diminished by her excommunication—the Abyssinian objects of the Sanctionist method could only be achieved by blockade and war and all resorts of physical force. That grim but indispensable condition of a successful coercive policy never existed at any time. Not for a moment did the British Government dream of pushing the argument to the point of Mediterranean conflict bound to widen into another world-catastrophe. The bed-rock desire of Russia was to make Britain, under the Covenant, literally interpreted, a committed guarantor of the territories of the Soviet Union.

Finally, it would have been staring madness and stark suicide for France, in view of her own military defence and her naval connections with her great African empire, to be dragged into any avoidable war with Italy. And without France, under the conditions in which we find ourselves to-day, Britain could not undertake any sane Mediterranean war against the other Latin Power who has hitherto been our friend and ally in that sea. Sanctions in a word have been a compre-

hensive fiasco for all their original aims, because readiness, capacity, and resolution for the ultimate resort of war itself with crushing power never have been behind them.

From Coercion to Conciliation

Here then directly rises the question of what is the best way out on a choice of evils. For Abyssinia itself, properly so called, the most grievous of all misfortunes was the storm of impulse in the House of Commons and the Ministerial surrender which destroyed the Hoare-Laval plan. Nothing within those limits can be obtained now. The Duce holds more ground than any of us thought he could take in the time. Who is to get him out? That prophetic query was addressed by Sir Samuel Hoare to the House of Commons four months ago. It remains unanswered.

While the open effort at coercion continues, it is obviously impossible for the Italian Dictator to yield to it. Dictators in these circumstances cannot yield. It would be the same with the German Führer were he brought to a like choice. And let us remember that behind the Duce, now more than ever, is the aroused spirit of all Italy. We are dealing with a great nation as well as with a formidable man.

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In this case you cannot pursue together—if indeed you ever can—coercion and conciliation; pressure and persuasion. It sounded at first an ingenious combination, but it does not work. The spirit of a great nation does not brook it. A method must be found compatible with the reinforcement of European peace instead of making with the most sinister certainty for universal explosion. By far the best way in itself would be to return to the more accustomed diplomatic methods of conciliation.

We cannot have it both ways. Never threaten unless you mean to fight. We ought to drop coercion unless we are prepared to challenge war in its support and to precipitate general war.



The Mediterranean and "Permanent Enmity"

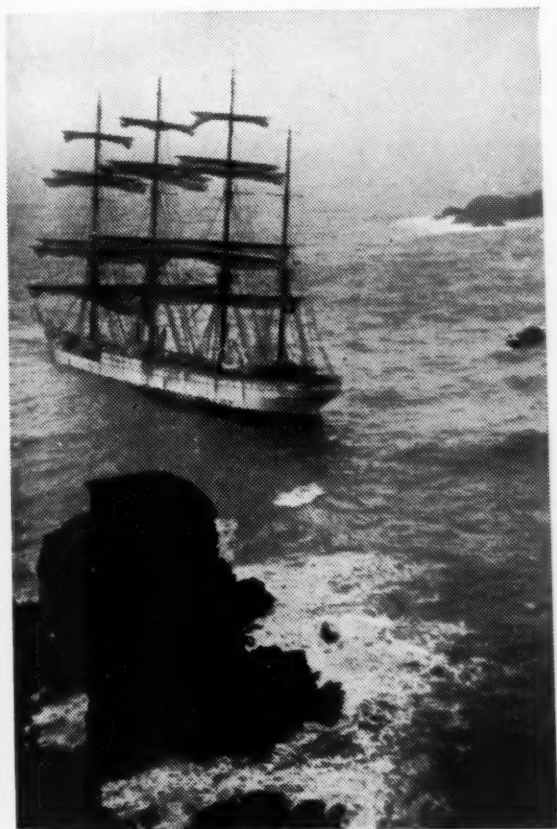
Another fundamental question for British policy is whether we wish in fact to make the Italy of to-day a permanent enemy. No advantage from that can be discerned by the wit of man. Better, as the world stands, not to under-estimate other nations in any way.

The Italy of to-day is a great Power in the fullest sense. The Abyssinian campaign, whatever else you may think of it, is, thus far, the strongest and ablest achievement of its kind in the history of colonial wars. At home, Signor Mussolini has maintained for many months a million men under arms. Their equipment has been strengthened in every way by industrial organisation working on a war-basis. Under the stimulus of Sanctions, Italian air-power has been raised to a degree which for a long time we could not match without taking the hopeless course of denuding our air-defences in Britain and leaving this country at the mercy of others.

Again the Italian Navy of to-day is a highly modernised service. It does not compare in battle-strength with that bulk of our fighting-power which is now at the farther end of the Mediterranean. But with her flotillas and her aircraft taken together, and with her remarkable geographical command of the narrow waters of the central part of that sea, Italy could at least make the Mediterranean untenable for maritime traffic and supply through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. For a long time we should have to go round by the Cape.

The Crux for Statesmanship

There is another illustration. It is perhaps the most vivid way of bringing to a focus these larger issues of the future.



Fast aground, the barque *Herzogin Cecilie*, finest of the great sailing ships, off Salcombe, Devon.

In the World-War we were part of an almost universal combination such as we are not likely to enjoy again. We found it not a whit too much. We had America with us in the West, Japan in the Far East, and Italy in that sea which is the central complex of all our Imperial communications. Yet it took us all our time to win. What if there were another emergency of anything like the same kind of magnitude? • We cannot count upon having Japan with us again—to say the least. We must not count upon having again America's active assistance, for the attitude of the United States to-day is one of determined detachment and neutrality towards European complications.

So much for the unfavourable shift in the conditions upon the two opposite sides of the world. Are we to jeopardise our former sureties in the centre as well? And do we think—considering all the other changes not to our increased advantage—that we can do this with light-headed impunity? Had the "Stresa Front" been made a solid reality and preserved intact, the vital centre of our whole world-wide system of sea-communications might have been kept invulnerable. If henceforth among our former associates we are not to be able to count upon Italy as an active ally, any more than America and Japan, and if instead we are to reckon with her as an active foe, then we shall have to provide for rearmament by land, sea and air upon a vaster scale than any of us has yet begun to envisage. It is high time to take these considerations soberly and deeply into account before we commit ourselves much further by persistence in a policy which would convert Italy from a fast traditional friend into a permanent enemy.

J. L. GARVIN.

Why Tell Lies?

There never was any period when we were not incessantly interfering in Continental affairs, with Continental allies and Continental ambitions. If we had not done so, we could never conceivably have had any Colonial ambitions. Practically all our Colonial possessions were the prizes of our Continental wars. We gained Canada because we were allied with Prussia against France; we gained South Africa because the Dutch were allied with the French against us. But for our foreign intervention we should never have had our Empire at all; that Empire which the Isolationists talk about as if it were a snug little country seat in Devonshire, to which we could retire and forget the world.

G. K. CHESTERTON in *G.K.'s Weekly*.

No Support for the Soviet

The *Times* of April 4th contained the following letter from Lord Mount Temple, Chairman of the Anti-Socialist Union;—

"In common with many of your readers, I noted with relief the assurances given by Mr. Eden and Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on March 26th that we are not entering into new commitments or being drawn into new obligations in consequence of any arrangements made by France and Russia.

"That may be the view honestly held by the British Government. Nevertheless, there still persists a widespread apprehension that, as a result of the Franco-Soviet Pact, France might become engaged in a war on the side of Russia, and that Britain might become involved in it. To find ourselves drawn into a war in defence of Bolshevism would be deeply repugnant to the mass of the British people. They would resent seeing the Union Jack flying beside the Red Flag, and would rightly refuse to rise in honour of the 'Internationale.'

Socialists to Support the Soviet

"While it is gratifying, therefore, to have Mr. Eden's definite declaration that we run no risk of being involved in such a quarrel, we must not forget that if a Socialist Government happened to be in power we certainly might have to march to the assistance of the Soviet.

"Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., writing recently in the Scottish Socialist journal, *Forward* (28/3/36), said that:

'No Socialist worth his salt can be party to Hitler having a free hand for war on the Soviet Union.'

"Mr. Morrison must mean that in a war between Germany and Russia a Socialist Government would range this country on the side of Russia. Our people would do well to take serious note of this statement by one of the ablest leaders of the Socialist Party, that a Socialist Government would go to war in defence of the Soviet Union.

"We cannot regard in the nature of a friend or ally a Government which has flagrantly broken its solemn pledge, given on three occasions, that it would refrain from conducting revolutionary propaganda within our borders and in the Empire.

Soviet's Broken Pledges

"There is also the failure to fulfil the pledge implied in the three Trade Agreements the Soviet has signed with us, that it would increase its purchases of our goods, and which the Government exhibited so gleefully during the Russian debates. While we imported goods to the value of £21,733,509 from Russia in 1935, nearly £4,000,000 more than in the previous year, Russia, on the other hand, imported from us only £3,505,240 worth of our domestic produce, or less than in 1934.

"Are we to take this as an example of the way

in which the Soviet Government respects its obligations, or must we believe Lord Snowden when he spoke of 'the fairy tales about the hundreds of millions of Russian orders which were waiting to be given to British industrialists as soon as the Treaty was signed'? Where are those orders now?

Debts Repudiated

"Nor has the Soviet Government made the slightest effort, or given a sign of any inclination to pay a penny of the vast sum of over £1,000 millions, which it owes to the British Government and to British nationals.

"We were told by Mr. Snowden, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the British taxpayer has to pay £45,000,000 a year (about a shilling on the income-tax) because of this default



of the Soviet Government. Are we to regard the Soviet Government's continued repudiation of these debts as another example of its respect for its international obligations?

Course of Deliberate Perfidy

"The late Lord Balfour, speaking of the conduct of the Soviet Government in its international relations, said there was a point at which 'a steady course of deliberate and authorised perfidy was intolerable.' We have long since passed that point in our relations with the Soviet.

"I have no hesitation, therefore, in saying that the British people would deeply resent any agreement or understanding which might oblige us to support a Government which has shown again and again that it has no respect for the ordinary obligations of international decency and honour."

Information.

In the Name of Peace

It would be a sad paradox if the League of Nations, which was formed to keep the peace, should bring us all to war; but it may be so if the League of Nations Union has its way. Thus, we reported on Saturday, upon the authority of Lord Lytton, that the Executive Committee of the Union demands "desperate methods." The British Government will be asked to move at Geneva that all connection between Italy and her Army be



Lady Houston's "Mistress of Arts," winner of the King's Prize Handicap at Epsom.

severed, apparently by the closing of the Suez Canal. We might have supposed that these enthusiasts for international action would at least be restrained by International Law, and there does happen to be a Convention under which the Suez Canal shall "always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag." But the League of Nations Union throws International Law to the winds, and is out for the old-fashioned maxim that all is fair in love and sanctions. Lord Cecil writes to the Press in a similar strain. He would be "glad" if the League Powers would agree to close the Canal and "that we should join them in doing so." If in consequence Italy attacked us, the League Powers would naturally defend themselves and unquestionably would defeat Italy.

Lord Cecil appears to derive moral support from his belief that there would be no risk in such a war. Indeed, we gather that his international ethics are governed by strictly prudential considerations:

I should advocate this country doing its reasonable share in such suppression of aggression, wherever it took place, upon condition that action should only be taken when overwhelming superiority in force was on the side of the treaty-keeping Powers. What a beautiful morality! What a noble code of international law! Only when there is "overwhelming superiority" is the wrongdoer to be restrained. Otherwise he may do as he pleases. Lord Cecil, indeed, applies the charge of Dogberry to international affairs:

. . . You are to bid any man stand, in the prince's name.

How if a' will not stand?

Why then take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the watch together, and thank God you are rid of a knave.

And how are we to estimate a "reasonable share" in such an operation? Are we to fight with, say, a quarter of our ships, or are we to fight for only a quarter of the time? We should have thought that Lord Cecil, who has had actual experience of the conduct of war, would have known that it cannot be made upon a limited liability basis. Nor will it make any difference to our soldiers and sailors

who will have to do the fighting that we are not "making war against Italy"; but that Italy is "making war against us." These fine distinctions, so comforting to a subtle mind, make no substantial difference to the bloody business of war, which remains no less deadly because it is called not war but "suppression of aggression."

What Good Has It Done?

We do not envy the moral equipment of those gentlemen who have been for years persuading their country to neglect its armaments and are now egging it on to fight. Nor is our respect increased by their assurances that such a war can be undertaken because victory would be "unquestionably" ours. Who are they to estimate the hazards and chances of a contest of ships against aeroplanes and submarines in the narrow confines of an inland sea? And there are other calculations which they neglect. How would such a conflict affect the livelihood of our people, our already over-weighted and staggering finances, our slowly returning prosperity? We saw the other day that a seaport in South Wales had been closed down because sanctions against Italy had made an end of its export trade in coal. The employment of our miners is too humble a consideration to be weighed against the moral satisfaction of setting "peace machinery" in motion. But what good has it done? There's the rub. Without attempting any defence of Italy, who has broken Treaty engagements, we may still suggest the folly of pinpricks and half-measures which only aggravate the situation?

Morning Post.

England Wants a

MR. BALDWIN informed his audience at Worcester the other day, that he would not resign his post as Prime Minister until such day as he regards himself as no longer capable of the task. He added that when he does retire, it will be at his own time and no-one else's.

As Conservative M.P.'s and the Press have remained dumb in face of this defiant crow from the Prime Minister in his own Constituency, it devolves upon us as usual in such matters to remind Mr. Baldwin that his retention or loss of office depends on his supporters, and not on his own sweet will. If they wish to depose him they can do so.

Many men, like Mr. Baldwin, regard themselves as indispensable in a job, but the day comes when others think differently. Politicians are particularly prone to this form of weakness, and Mr. Baldwin must in the end bow to the inevitable, and be tested, like other men, on the basis of his achievements.

SUFFER THE DEVIL

And when we come to consider them it will be generally agreed that the British people as a whole have been extraordinarily tolerant to Mr. Baldwin, perhaps on the basis that it is better to suffer the devil you know rather than the devil you do not know. From 1917 to 1921 he was President of the Board of Trade, and although he knew the necessity of tariffs and Imperial Preference he took no steps to foster these. In fact he has never done anything solid either then or subsequently to build

up and cement the Empire. In 1922 and 1923, under Mr. Bonar Law, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and his outstanding feat was to go to the United States and fetter us with such onerous debt repayments that in 1931 he had to dishonour our obligations with the result that to this day America regards Britain as a defaulter.

SEEDS OF DISRUPTION

From 1924 to 1929 he was Prime Minister, and during that period of office his Government laid the seeds of the disruption of the Empire at the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1929, accepting Lord Balfour's formula (issued by the Colonial Office as a Manifesto in March, 1926) as that of independent nations, equal in status to the Mother Country, which was manifestly a false proviso. In this same period disarmament gaily proceeded and we came to the iniquitous Treaty of Washington which, based on pusillanimous fears and pacifism, gave away our command of the seas. He and his Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, also signed the Treaty of Locarno, which committed us to military responsibilities although at the same time Mr. Baldwin was neglecting our defences. Another outstanding effort of his was to give the Flapper Vote, which helped largely to bring about the defeat of the Conservatives in the General Election of 1929. *Mr. Baldwin's mis-handling of affairs in those years paved the way to the Socialist extremism of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, whose Government crashed in 1931, as it will do again.*

TREACHERY

In 1931, instead of forming a strong Conservative administration, Mr. Baldwin deserted his supporters and placed his Anti-Imperialist, notorious Pacifist, and pro-Russian friend MacDonald in the position of Prime Minister, perhaps the greatest act of treachery known to Constitutional annals, for he acquiesced in elevating the arch-enemy of Britain's Imperial Sovereignty as ruler over millions of Conservative voters who looked upon him (and still do) as nothing less than a traitor. Mr. MacDonald ran true to form, and spent most of his time in dodging about Europe to tie us to the League of Nations by the damnable fetters which have since brought us to the verge of war.

The first step taken in 1931, almost immediately after the "National" Government was returned by an immense majority, to put us financially sound, was to rush through the House the Statute of Westminster, so rotten and unsound that



Sir Thomas Inskip.



Mr. Baldwin.

tsa Dictator

• **By KIM** •

according to a judgment of the Privy Council (of June 6th, 1935) the Statute "gave to the Irish Free State a power under which they could abrogate the Treaty, and, as a matter of law they have availed themselves of that power." Mr. Baldwin, supported by Sir Thomas Inskip (then Solicitor-General), declared that the Statute did not concede that power, but if Mr. de Valera wishes he can at any moment proclaim the sovereign independence of the Free State, and ally himself with any potential enemy, thus giving up the British Isles to a flank attack. This Statute, which cut right across the Empire and attempted to deprive the King of his royal prerogative, was sprung on the House of Commons on a Friday afternoon—regarded as a *dies non* for Government business—without any mandate from the nation, as it never was an issue of the General Election of 1931. We have yet to reap the harvest of Mr. Baldwin's Empire Policy.

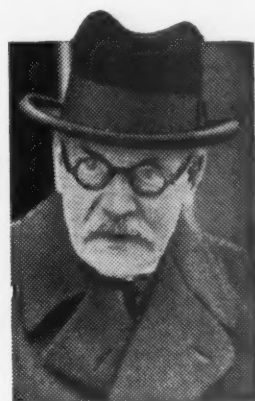
MENACING ITALY

The end of Mr. Baldwin's term of office led, as is fresh in our minds last year, to the India Act, not yet in operation, but of which all the signs and omens are unhappy. This was forced through in the teeth of stern opposition of all the best elements in Conservatism. And we have yet also to reap the harvest of Mr. Baldwin's India policy. Both will prove Dead Sea fruit.

Since last November we have suffered the latest phases of Baldwinism. He became Prime Minister for the third time with the Italo-Abyssinian War prominent. His first step was to announce that the League of Nations was the "sheet-anchor" of his policy. His Government pursuing the chimera of "collective security" and muttering the shibboleth of the "Covenant of the League," set out to menace Italy by a show of force to compel her to abrogate her sovereign powers in regard to her dispute with the Negus. This bluff has been a dismal failure from beginning to end, for his Foreign Minister, Mr. Eden, has succeeded in nothing except to make an enemy of our old and powerful ally, Italy. It has cooped up our Fleet and Air Force in the east end of the Mediterranean, where a spark may at any moment cause an explosion which leads to war, and this, moreover, in no quarrel where the British Nation stand to gain. He has lost valuable trade and an important market. He has had to bribe other League Powers to impose even such restrictions as exist. He has



Mr. Eden.



Mr. MacDonald.

added millions of pounds to the upkeep of these forces shut up in the near East which might have been spent in new armaments.

Now Mr. Baldwin addresses his constituents at Worcester and has to admit the failure of his "sheet anchor" policy. He confesses that three of the greatest Powers—the United States, Germany and Japan—are outside the League. He realises that Sanctions cannot be applied unless he had the authority to re-arm and re-equip the nation. *What judgment will posterity place upon a political leader who in every big issue where he has held office has proved himself to be utterly wrong?*

PARISH PUMP POLITICS

The truth is that Mr. Baldwin is no leader for a great and wealthy Imperial State. His mind leans far more towards the parish pump than towards any greater vision. He is a Lilliputian when confronted by dictators like Hitler or Mussolini, men who, in their various ways, have set out to achieve a definite goal which spells for their respective countries, GREATNESS and SECURITY. Mr. Baldwin has no goal at all except to prattle of peace in order to avoid preparing for war, but they have led their nations with a singleness of purpose, and have put down traitors and enemies with ruthless hands. Mr. Baldwin confers with such. Hitler and Mussolini will use the League of Nations only if it serves the purpose of their own countries, whereas Mr. Baldwin would like to deliver the entire British nation and people into the hands of the League of Nations at Geneva, there to be kept in cold storage until required for use.

Hitler and Mussolini are dictators who, as such, are able to govern for the benefit of their nations and defy the proletariat vote for which Mr. Baldwin

is always angling but never hooks. They can take a long view where Mr. Baldwin grabs at every passing straw to save himself from drowning. They believe in re-arming first and laying down the law after, whereas Mr. Baldwin tries to lay down the law without the ability to see it is obeyed.

WHAT WE WANT ABOVE ALL THINGS IN THIS COUNTRY IS AN ENGLISH DICTATOR WHO WILL AIM TO PLACE BRITAIN AT THE HEAD OF THE NATIONS IN WARFARE AND COMMERCE. Such a dictator would throw off the League of Nations like accursed chains. We want a strong man, a pro-British patriot, who will rule with an iron fist. Round such a man, the whole

nation would rally without doubt. It is surely time that Conservatives began to think this problem out seriously, for unless they take steps to supplant Mr. Baldwin they will find themselves in the wilderness with the reins of power handed out to the Socialists.

Mr. Baldwin's retirement is not a matter for his personal decision in his own sweet time. It is a question M.P.'s should take in hand NOW. We want a man who will lead England for England's greatness. The present type of party leaders are out of joint with the times. It is cheap claptrap to say that England would not tolerate a dictator. Of course she would if that dictator were a great and determined ruler.

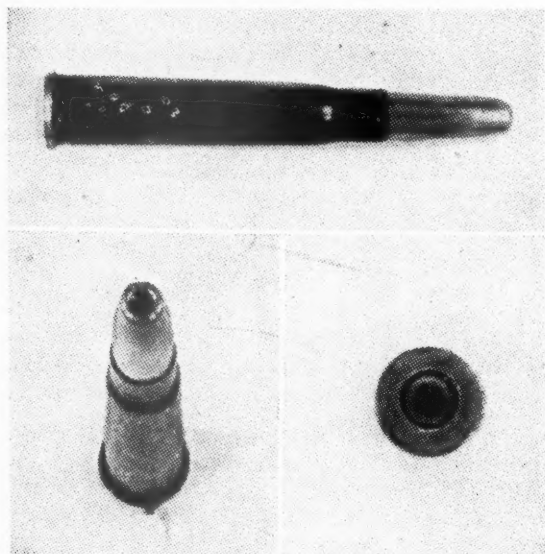
Atrocities—The Truth

By Meriel Buchanan

"THERE is no need to say much about explosive projectiles," Mr. Eden declared at the recent meeting of the Committee of Thirteen at Geneva. "The Italian Government have asserted that they were provided by British manufacturers. The British Government has proved the falsity of this assertion in a Note to the League."

In an article in *Il Messaggero* on April 12th, photographs and documents are reproduced which contradict the declaration.

What About These, Mr. Eden?



One of the dum-dum bullets used by the Abyssinians at Tafari Ketema on the Somali front. Note the perforated nose of the bullet - believed to be of British manufacture.

Already in January the fact that soft-nosed or dum-dum bullets were being extensively used by the Abyssinians was published in the *Messaggero* and other Italian papers, and also evidence that those bullets had been sent from an English firm. Very little attention was, however, paid to this news in England. As usual, when anything detrimental to "The heroic Abyssinian Armies" was in question, it was and still is suppressed and smothered. The photographs, showing the appalling and horrible wounds made by dum-dum bullets, were never published in any English papers, perhaps because it was feared that they might offend the delicate susceptibilities of the League of Nations Union.

Geneva no doubt received those official photographs, but apparently no steps were ever taken, no remonstrance was ever made to the Negus, and the Abyssinian armies continued to use the bullets without restriction. A few enquiries were, however, made by people who insisted on some explanation being forthcoming, and finally it was admitted that some dum-dum bullets had been sent from England to Abyssinia, though they were intended for big game hunting.

The British firm who supplied the cartridges again brought forward the defence that they formed part of an old consignment intended for big game hunting, while at the same time, Mr. Eden issued a statement that the cable had been falsely translated or interpreted. Now he accuses the Italian Government of misrepresentation of facts, and adds with ambiguous suavity, "The British Government has proved the falsity of this assertion."

To this the *Messaggero* of April 12 retorts, "Unfortunately Mr. Eden is unaware of further irrefutable evidence which must finally silence him." At the same time it publishes photographs of the soft-nosed bullets, of the cases in which they were packed, and the tickets or packing labels.

How is Mr. Eden going to explain away these statements?

Can he explain why, when he becomes so deeply moved over the alleged Italian use of poison gas, his humanitarian feelings are in no way touched by the sufferings of those Italian soldiers wounded by dum-dum bullets? The use of dum-dum bullets is strictly forbidden by International Conventions; why then does not Mr. Eden indict Abyssinia for breaking the Covenant?

SHAMELESS PROPAGANDA

Can Mr. Eden also explain the reason for the persistent and shameless pro-Abyssinian propaganda of the British Press, the wireless and the cinemas? Why are facts, like the use of dum-dum bullets, the ghastly mutilation of prisoners, the horrible torture and murder of that brave Italian woman Signora Rocca, never given any prominence?

The Press, the wireless and the screen are only too eager to publish any indictment of Italy, only too eager to twist, exaggerate and misrepresent facts in such a way as to prejudice the British public against a country which has always been our friend, which has always stood for civilisation and enlightenment. The propaganda has been subtle and cunning, but it has been very effective. The public has been allowed to know only one side of the question, it has been taught to see in Italy a huge, cruel bullying nation overwhelming and slaughtering a peaceable, Christian, agricultural people. Every artifice has been used to impress this fact on the public mind, thousands of pounds have been spent in poisoning the minds of unsuspecting men and women.

The bombing of Red Cross Hospitals, the use of gas in air attacks . . . all the world knows how these two accusations against Italy have been exploited and broadcast all over the country. The misuse of the Red Cross emblem by the Abyssinians has been at the same time completely ignored.

PAID AGENTS

Every possible charge against Italy is exaggerated by paid agents into violent and malicious anti-Italian propaganda.

That those paid agents exist there can be no doubt, nor can there be any doubt as to who it is

THE CONQUEROR



MUSSOLINI

who pays them to spread their trail of poison in England.

The *Saturday Review* has again and again warned the public against the Power in whose interest it is to breed enmity between Italy and England, and, unlike other papers, it has never been afraid to publish the name of that power in large and flaming letters.

It is Soviet Russia working for the destruction of peace and security in Europe.

The Light (Headed) Brigade

*Half a League, half a League
Half a League of Nations:
Half awake, and half asleep,
And half-hearted relations !*

*Half for this, half for that
Never once " collective " :
Half in front, half behind,
In totum — most defective !*

PETER BOVSFIELD.

Italy and the Broken Treaties

By Commendatore Luigi Villari

THE League of Nations fans have never ceased from condemning Italy's East African action as an alleged breach of the Covenant and other treaties. The charge itself is by no means unchallenged, and may indeed be rebutted by a whole series of cogent arguments. But what particularly incenses Italian public opinion is that those who thus smugly condemn Italy imply that no other country has ever failed to meet its treaty obligations. The Italians, however, have not forgotten that they themselves have been the victims of broken treaties, not in the dim and distant past, but no later than the Paris Peace Conference, and that those instruments were broken at her expense by those very governments who now hold up their hands in horror at her own wicked backsliding. As this fact is apt to be forgotten outside Italy, it may be well to recall the circumstances in which it took place.

PROMISES

Italy undertook to intervene in the world war on the side of the Entente and concluded an agreement to that end with Great Britain, France and Russia on April 26, 1915, known as the Treaty of London. By the terms of that instrument Italy was promised, in case of an Allied victory, the Italian-speaking territories of Austria. Should France and Great Britain increase their colonial domains at the expense of Germany, Italy would be entitled to claim equitable compensation, particularly in the settlement in her favour of the questions concerning the frontiers between her African colonies and neighbouring French and British colonies (Article 12). In addition, she was also promised a share in the eventual partition of the Ottoman Empire. In the Treaty of London the exact area to be assigned to Italy from the spoils of Turkey was not specified, save for an allusion to Adalia where she had already recognised pre-war rights.

But her other Allies had already begun to provide for the partition of Turkey before Italy entered the war, and when she did intervene, she was told nothing of this. In May, 1916, France, Great Britain and Russia concluded a further agreement whereby Asia Minor was to be divided up into spheres of occupation or at least of influence among those three Powers, and a group of more or less independent Arab States was to be formed. This instrument was confirmed by another concluded in March, 1917. But none of them was communicated to Italy, although the arrangements in question undoubtedly encroached on the provisions of the Treaty of London.

When the Italian Foreign Minister, Baron Sonnino, got wind of the matter, he protested vigorously at what he regarded as an act of bad

faith towards an Ally. If Asiatic Turkey was to be partitioned, the question was far more important for Italy with her large and growing population and her lack of colonies than for the other Allies who already possessed immense and valuable colonial domains. She would, on the whole, have preferred that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire be maintained and that she should participate in its economic development only. But now that it had joined the hostile coalition and that its partition was envisaged, she did not intend to be left out of any future settlement concerning it.

Consequently a new meeting was held at St. Jean de Maurienne in Savoy on April 19-20, 1917, between M. Briand, Mr. Lloyd George and Baron Sonnino. The previous agreements were then communicated to Italy and a new one was concluded whereby the whole Vilayet of Smyrna and the Sanjak of Adalia were definitely assigned to her, while France was to have Syria, Great Britain Palestine and Iraq. Russia, to whom Constantinople and a large part of Northern Anatolia had been assigned under the previous agreements, was not represented at St. Jean de Maurienne, as she was then in the throes of the revolution, but a clause was inserted whereby the execution of the agreement was made conditional on her approval, as she was supposed to be still interested in the partition of Turkey and one of the chief residuary legatees of the future Ottoman inheritance.

WRANGLES

The war came to an end and then there followed the unseemly wrangles of the Peace Conference. President Wilson, wrapped up in his superior virtue, professed to regard secret treaties with horror and refused to recognise their validity. Great Britain and France, however, being anxious to secure his support for their own policies, were prepared to sacrifice the weaker member of the alliance, Italy, for that purpose, and did their best to wriggle out of their undertakings towards her. She did succeed, after a protracted and acrimonious struggle in securing grudging recognition of the clauses of the Treaty of London concerning at least a part of the Italian territories of Austria, which were eventually assigned to her.

But in the colonial field Italy's claims were set aside. The ex-German colonies were partitioned between France and Great Britain (later Belgium was also given a share); they were not taken over as colonies—oh no, that would have been wicked Imperialism—but as "mandated areas," a system which differs greatly from the colonial system on paper, but very little in practice. Italy was excluded on the pretext that she had taken no part in the colonial campaigns against the German colonial Empire in Africa. The reason why she

had not done so was that she had had to keep important forces mobilised in East Africa, owing to the danger which Abyssinia's formidable armaments and menacing attitude represented for the security not only of her own colonies, but also of those of her Allies. She thus prevented that danger from materialising, in spite of the activities of German and Turkish agents in Abyssinia, who naturally spared no effort to bring that country into the war on their side. This service of Italy's to the common cause was deliberately ignored, and she was told that she had not pulled her weight in the colonial operations!

Several years later, in 1924, Great Britain did hand over to Italy a strip of Jubaland, mostly desert, by way of "equitable compensation" and thus considered that she had fulfilled her obligations under Article 12 of the Treaty of London. In 1935, France gave Italy, as part of a general settlement of Franco-Italian disputes, a few more square miles of desert to the south of Libya and on the borders of French Somaliland.

The St. Jean de Maurienne agreement was flatly repudiated on the legal quibble that Russia had not given her consent—not that she had refused it, but that she said nothing about it. Russia indeed had been in a state of anarchy ever since, and had been for the time being, struck off the roll of civilised nations; she was therefore in no position to express any views on the subject at all. But for this reason France and Great Britain, or rather M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, considered themselves absolved of any obligations to Italy in this connection, and the Smyrna vilayet was assigned to Greece, or rather to M. Venizelos, for services and sacrifices to the common cause, of doubtful value and in any case infinitesimal as compared with those of Italy. Greece proved unable to hold the vast area assigned to her, as her presence in Asia Minor aroused the Turkish Nationalist movement, which eventually swept her poorly equipped and badly led armies into the sea. But that did not lessen the indignation felt by every Italian at the way his country had been



Italian field gun in action in the Carso during the Great War,

treated by its Allies.

The absence of Russia's consent, which was regarded as sufficient to treat the obligation to Italy as a "scrap of paper," did not prevent Great Britain and France from sticking to their share of the loot; Syria became a French mandate, Palestine and Iraq British mandates. But that, as Kipling says, is another story.

The following figures of the post-war territorial acquisitions require no comment:

		Area (sq. kilom.)	Popu- lation
Great Britain ...	...	2,620,000	9,335,000
France ...	...	922,000	4,325,000
Belgium ...	...	54,000	3,000,000
Italy ...	...	100,000	90,000

Is it surprising that the Italian people considers that it has not had a square deal, and that it is not much impressed by sanctimonious professions of whole-hearted loyalty to the sanctity of treaties on the part of certain sanctioneer States?

DALLYING WITH D

"WE are still drifting and still dawdling as the precious months flow by, even while the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself talks of 'feeling the heat of the flame upon our faces!'"

Those words were spoken by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons a few days ago. No truer words were ever spoken. Yet not even Mr. Churchill appears to be capable of energising the "National" Government. Still less is he—or anybody else—capable of energising Sir Thomas Inskip, who, for all his grandiloquent title, frankly says that he is working under peace-time conditions.

Has it never occurred to Sir Thomas Inskip that he would not bear the title of Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence if conditions were those of normal years of peace? Apparently it has not; and apparently a number of other obvious things have passed him by. First and most important is the fact that there are serious breaches in our defences which must be made good *without loss of time*. The Government has been talking of "making good the gaps in our essential defences" for nearly eighteen months, and in so doing it has repeated that the Navy is the first line of defence. Yet it is in the Navy that the greatest gaps have been allowed to accumulate, and it is in the Navy that the repairs will take longest.

WHY THIS DELAY ?

What has been done? Precisely nothing. In a normal year a naval building programme is announced when the Navy Estimates are presented to Parliament. This year the Navy Estimates contained no building programme. We were told that this would be included in supplementary estimates to be issued later. In other words there was a delay *beyond the normal* even in announcing what steps were to be taken to make good the deficiencies in the Navy. It will doubtless be argued that the mere announcement of a building programme has no effect upon the date on which the ships are actually laid down, and that the programme for the current year will be hastened by laying the keels at an earlier date than has been the case in past programmes.

We certainly hope so. The keels of past pro-

grammes have been laid as much as fourteen months after authorisation.

But the delay in producing the programme must necessarily delay the laying of the keels. There is no getting away from that. Until the building of a ship is authorised by Parliament by Parliament's acceptance of the building programme the Admiralty cannot even ask contractors to tender. Tendering for the construction of a warship is not a matter of guesswork. It entails long and detailed calculations. These of course take time. Then the tenders must be carefully scrutinised by the Admiralty in every detail before the order can be placed. Only then can the keel of the ship be laid.

PREPARATIONS—ON PAPER

With "the heat of the flame upon our faces," surely any Government worthy of the name of "National" should have announced the building programme *earlier* than usual so as to allow of this preliminary work being done without delay. But no. Precious months have flown by and the keels which might by now have been laid are still only "on paper."

Then there is the question of personnel. It has been known for months and months that a large increase in the naval personnel was essential. Nothing was done towards training extra ratings. One was told that the existing training establishments, cut to the bone in the lean years, could not cope with more recruits. Eventually the Admiralty, at their wits end to find trained men, were driven to asking time-expired men to be good enough to remain in the service for a further term of three years. Numbers did, but this can only be a temporary expedient, designed only to carry the navy over until the newly trained ratings become available.

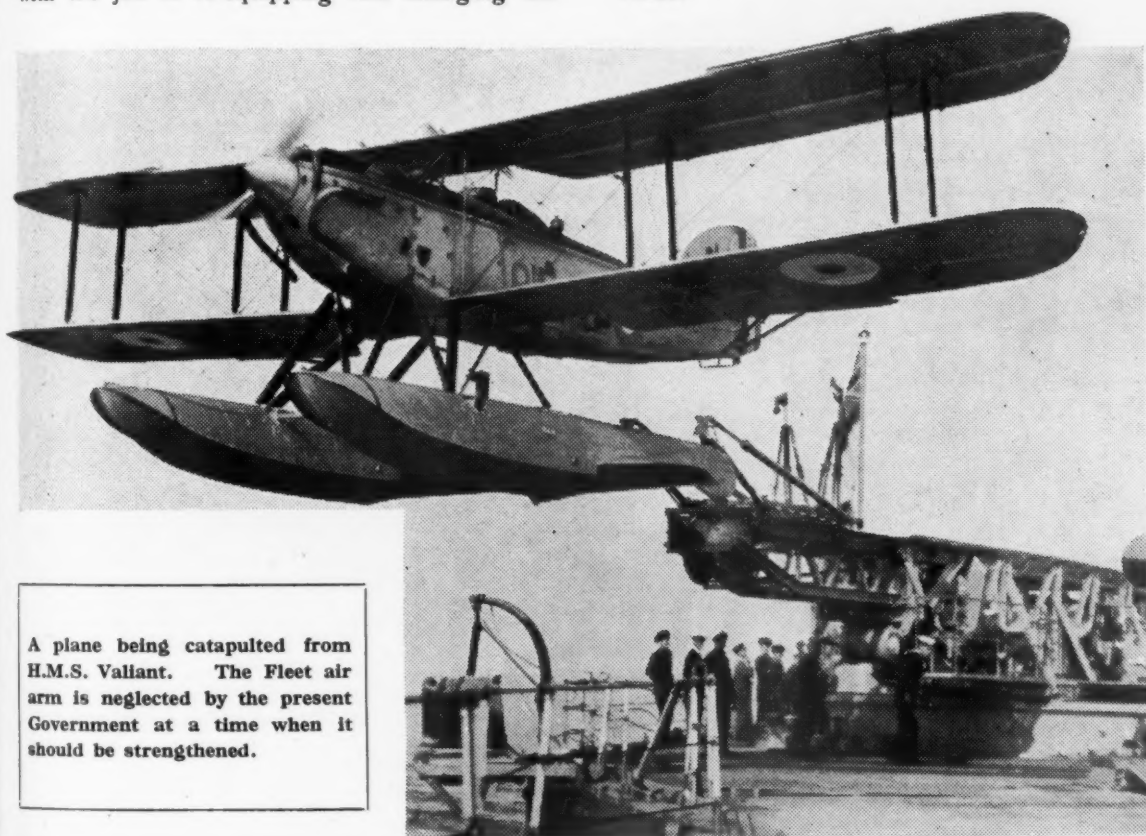
One would have thought that here, if anywhere, was an emergency calling for immediate and energetic action. Yet it is only now, when one third of our whole battlefleet has been laid up for months owing to lack of men to man the ships, that steps are to be taken. It is announced that a further naval training establishment is to be opened at Rosyth. Considering the fact that

DEFENCE — By PERISCOPE

buildings and everything else required for such an establishment were already there—derelicts of the Great War—the delay in opening this new training establishment needs some explaining.

And then the Fleet Air Arm. This is admittedly far behind-hand and needs immediate strengthening both in numbers and by being provided with modern machines. It has been pointed out by many naval experts that the strength of the Fleet Air Arm is only about half that of America and is inferior to Japan. Yet, instead of getting on with the job of re-equipping and enlarging the

But perhaps the best antic of Sir Thomas Inskip has been the way in which he sought to repudiate all responsibility for the food supplies of the people of this island in time of war. The matter was first brought up at a meeting of the Conservative Parliamentary Agricultural Committee. Sir Thomas was asked about food supplies in time of war, and he assured the Committee that he had not the initiative in such a matter. This, according to Sir Thomas, was shared by the Minister of Agriculture and the President of the Board of Trade.



A plane being catapulted from H.M.S. *Vallant*. The Fleet air arm is neglected by the present Government at a time when it should be strengthened.

Fleet Air Arm without delay, our Precious Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence shelters behind that ancient expedient of obstructionists—the committee of enquiry.

What the enquiry is all about is difficult to imagine, for the whole of the evidence has already been carefully sifted and the minds of the Chiefs of Staffs of the Services made up. There is no getting away from it. The enquiry is utterly redundant and has been instituted simply in order to put the brake on. Meanwhile, pilots of the Fleet Air Arm are struggling to achieve efficiency with obsolete machines, and the observers are trying to send through important messages on wireless sets of war-time vintage.

If 1914-18 taught this country anything at all, surely it taught it that one of the most vital matters of defence was the feeding of the population. Yet here we have the extraordinary spectacle of a Minister appointed for the co-ordination of measures of defence repudiating responsibility for this vital matter and, so far from co-ordinating, trying to decentralise into the departmental labyrinth. Small wonder that, not only the Conservative Parliamentary Agricultural Committee, but the whole House of Commons, are restive and want to know more of this vital matter.

Sir Thomas Inskip has not long been in office, but he has been long enough to lose any confidence which he may have commanded.

The Moorhen's Brood

By Dan Russell

THE pond lay in the corner of the park. For many years it had not been cleaned and the rushes had grown thickly on its edges. So thick indeed were they that it was difficult to see the stretch of clear water which they encircled. It was as if nature had grown her own hedge to give privacy to the shy wild creatures which moved about the water. Standing upon the bank, one could hear rustlings and splashing as they went upon their ways, but the rushes hid them from sight. Only rarely was one rewarded with a glimpse of a flirting white tail as a moorhen moved stealthily over the still water. Only occasionally did one catch a passing view of a rat scuttling over the banks of mud. The all-concealing stems gave sanctuary to many creatures both fierce and timid, and many were the tragedies which occurred beneath their shade.

In a corner where the rushes grew most thickly, a moorhen sat close upon her nest. Beneath her breast were ten yellowish, brown-spotted eggs from which at this moment was coming a faint sound of tapping. The chicks were hammering their way to freedom through the imprisoning shell. The moorhen was a smallish bird about the size of a jackdaw. Her back and wings were dark olive-green, her head was grayish-black, her bill was a brilliant red. Her green legs were not web-footed. Her nest was a large structure of dried reeds woven together into an island. Damp it was and sometimes wet, but the warmth of her body kept life in her eggs which were so soon to release their living prisoners.

The gentle tapping grew louder as more chicks stirred within the shells. The moorhen rose and crouched over the nest so that, though she still gave it warmth, she did not interfere with the breaking of the shells. Suddenly, a crack appeared upon one of the eggs. It widened, and a triangular piece broke away. A tiny beak protruded and the hole grew steadily bigger. The little body heaved and the shell fell in two halves. The first chick was hatched.

He was a tiny mite, greyish black in colour, with his feathers plastered to him by the moisture of

the egg. Unlike most baby birds, he was born with his eyes open, and as soon as he was born he could run about. The mother bird cast the broken fragments of shell over the side of the nest and crouched lower to protect her first-born. All day the hatching went on and by nightfall there were seven tiny chicks in the nest. The other three eggs were infertile, so she threw them away with the broken pieces.

As soon as the first grey finger of the dawn lightened the sky the moorhen was awake. She rose from her nest and stepped into the water. Unhesitatingly her seven chicks followed her, for



"With mother in the middle, the little flotilla moved slowly through the rushes."

baby moorhens can swim from birth. With the mother in the middle the little flotilla moved slowly through the rushes. Every now and then they stopped to feed on the water-weeds which grew luxuriantly upon the surface of the water. So light were these little chicks that they could run upon the leaves of water-lilies and walk across the duck-weed. But always did they keep close to their mother, for the life of a baby moorhen is fraught with danger.

They were crossing from one weed patch to another when the tragedy occurred. One chick lagged behind the others. He paddled desperately to overtake them. But a long, grey shadow moving beneath the surface had seen him. There was a swirl on the water and the truant disappeared

into the maw of an old pike. The mother called to her family and fled to the safety of the reeds. There they stayed for a long time until the pangs of hunger called them forth again.

It was on the fifth day that the next death came. The chicks were growing rapidly and began to stray away from the side of their ever anxious mother. One of them had found a new patch of duck-weed and, when his mother moved away, he did not heed her. He stayed where he was. But a pair of beady eyes had seen him. An old grey rat, steeped in cunning, was roaming along the banks. He saw the truant and slipped noiselessly into the water. With only his nose showing he swam out to the patch of weed and then dived.

The chick, intent upon his meal, felt the weed lift beneath him, a pair of iron jaws closed upon his neck, and without a sound he was towed to the bank. He had paid the penalty for his independence. But his mother did not miss him.

The days went on and two more of the family fell to the rats. They were growing now and

feathers were taking the place of down. Their wings were developing and soon they would be able to look after themselves. And it was at this time that their mother's mate re-appeared. During the time of their babyhood he had kept well away, but now that they were growing up he swam with them.

Gradually they grew more and more independent and their mother left them more to themselves and went off with her mate. The three youngsters were well able to look after themselves and it often happened that they only stayed with their mother at night. Neither rat nor pike had any terrors for them now.

One night about two months after their birth they returned to the nest to be met with an unexpected reception. Their mother and her mate met them with flapping wings and open beaks and drove them away. That night they slept alone, nor did they return to the nest. They were fully fledged. The little moorhen had done her job, she had reared her brood and now was busy preparing for the next.

How to Save Our Trade

By T. W. MacAlpine

NO era in commercial history has witnessed so extreme a form of economic nationalism as the world has experienced since the war. Almost all the nations have shown a pronounced tendency to withdraw into themselves, building yet higher their tariff walls and, also, having recourse to import quotas and even to prohibition of certain imports.

But there are two facts of somewhat sinister import, which have been all too prominent in these post-war years:

(a) Occasional indications have shown that some nations do not regard the discharge of their obligations to this country as matters of much importance.

(b) Instances, not a few, in which this country's trade has been attacked by systematic methods calculated to do it injury.

In the face of these two facts, it is clear that more effectual means are needed to defend this country's industrial security; and we have now to ask ourselves what methods should be used? Let us take, for example, two of our major national industries—cotton and shipping—both of which have suffered at times from unfair attacks.

It can be said that this country was the first to build up each of these trades on a scale so large that it could be described as practically a world-wide service. In fact, this country held for many years what amounted to a world monopoly or, at any rate, very little short of that, since she furnished almost all the nations with much the greater part of their cotton requirements and carried in her ships by far the larger share of the sea-borne commerce of the globe.

Although it would certainly be idle to claim that

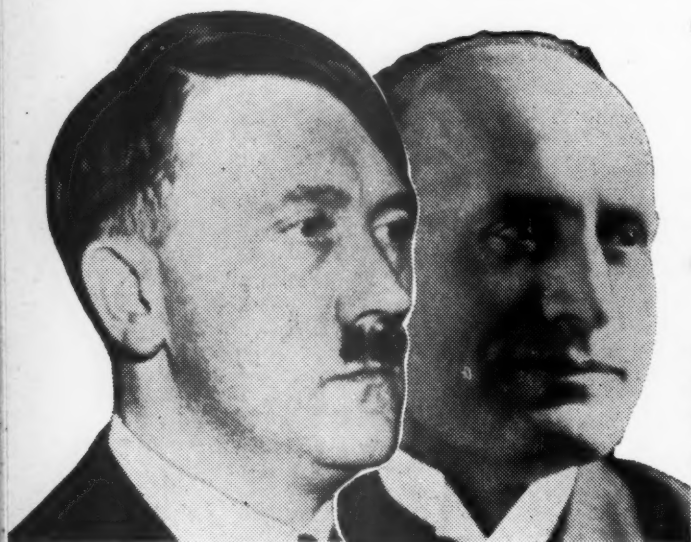
Britain holds to-day her old monopoly in either of these great trades, nevertheless, both of them are still equipped not only for the greatest variety of services, but in quantity exceeding that of any other nation. It can also be claimed without fear of rational contradiction that Britain has accumulated a considerably greater experience than any other country in the production and marketing of all classes of cotton goods and in the selling of shipping services for all purposes. And it appears that these facilities could well be employed under the following system to provide goods or services at very low rates, which would go far to redress the balance against this country, caused by the unfriendly actions of the kind referred to above.

In other words, sections of the industry could be used as spearheads of attack on competitors in other countries adopting practices (a) and (b), but attack under directed control, provision being also made whereby the whole industry would underwrite the risk of loss that might fall on the section detailed to carry out an attack. In any one attack it might happen that only a single section of the whole industry was suitably equipped for the production or marketing of the particular goods required or for the provision of the necessary shipping services; on another occasion some other section, or more than one section, would be regarded as the most suitable spearhead for the purpose and, accordingly, would now be detailed for the operation.

It would thus appear that each of our major national industries needs to organise what would be in effect a headquarters staff charged with the duties of developing and directing the tactics necessary in its international relations.

ENGLAND'S Sore Need— A Benevolent Dictator

These men build up and achieve



HITLER

MUSSOLINI

LET us compare the great prestige to which Hitler and Mussolini have raised their countries with the universal distrust and execration to which our fatuous trio of misleading leaders have dragged down our own country, and there is but one conclusion.

What Britain needs is a Benevolent Dictator.

But **OUR** triumvirate of tricksters are Baldwin, the Blunderer: MacDonald, of Moscow, and Pretty Polly Eden.

Each of these holds in his hands Britain's destiny. Each is a pocket dictator in his own little sphere of politics ruled by Russia.

All three are Dictators. But none is a Benevolent Dictator in the true sense of the word, for none has attempted to discipline the nation by telling them the truth into a willing unity. For none know the meaning of the word "Benevolent" when applied to a ruler.

A benevolent ruler is one who puts the interest of his people first and his own interest last.

Our terrible triumvirate of Tricksters places the interests of its crooked Russian and Genevan allies first, its own personal interests next and **THE COUNTRY LAST.**

*There are two sorts of people in this World,
Two sorts only that matter,
Those who build up and achieve,
And those who drag down and shatter,
And the "National" Government belongs to the latter.*

THERE IS IN BRITAIN TO-DAY ONE MAN TO WHOM THE WHOLE OF THE IMPERIAL PEOPLES LOOK WITH LOVE AND CONFIDENCE, A MAN TRIED IN STATECRAFT AND IN BATTLE, A MAN TRULY BENEVOLENT AT HEART BUT STRONG OF WILL.

OUR TWISTED CONSTITUTION HAS SURROUNDED HIM WITH "ADVISERS" IN WHOM HE CAN HAVE NO FAITH.

THEY HAVE LEFT HIS KINGDOM UNARMED AT A TIME WHEN THEIR MOSCOW-POLICY HAS SUCCEEDED IN ANTAGONISING THE MOST POWERFULLY ARMED STATES IN EUROPE.

They have imposed a policy of sanctions against Italy which has ruined thousands of British workers and has operated directly against British interests.

It is not the will of the people that a new reign should open with a national policy that has, by the confession of Ministers themselves, dragged the Empire into the greatest jeopardy of its history.

If the British people knew the Truth—had their way, they would see in command of their affairs men as strong and as able to direct

By "HISTORICUS"

Benevolent DICTATOR

But these men have dragged down and shattered the safety and honour of England

their destinies to continuing greatness as those who have made the two Fascist States

the dominators of world politics.

What is needed is one clear voice to tell the people the truth about the jeopardy in which they stand, and one clear mind and strong will to take the nation in hand and arm it against the menace which faces it to fight for England but not for the League of Nations.

If all true patriots will make their voices heard and insist that there shall be no more shilly shallying about Britain's arms and no more dallying with the policy of Moscow—which is the real direction behind Geneva and the posturings of Eden there—let this regime of muddled thinking and inept action be decried by all unitedly—then there will be hope for the Realm.

But if the present pocket-dictators are allowed to direct their various departments towards the end designed by Moscow for the destruction of capitalist Britain, if Geneva is still allowed to tie us to a policy of enemy-making at a time when through fifteen years of wilful neglect we are unable to stand up for ourselves, this Realm will be overwhelmed in a disaster beyond the imagination of man to conceive, for it will end in a rain of bombs and the destruction of all that keeps the forty-seven million people alive in these crowded and sea-locked islands. Once the glory of every one of us and the envy of the World.



ANTHONY
EDEN

STANLEY
BALDWIN

RAMSAY
MACDONALD

DROP THE LEAGUE!

By Robert Machray

ON the surface the European situation presents at the moment a sort of uneasy, apprehensive calm, caused in part by awaiting the French elections which will be decided to-morrow, and in part by the halt in the negotiations with Germany while the proposals of Herr Hitler on March 7 are being elucidated, the special task on which the Foreign Secretary is now engaged. The result of the French elections is not expected to make any marked change in the policy of France, and nothing of particular significance is thought likely to come into sight before the next meeting of the Council of the League of Nations set for May 11.

What most Governments, to say nothing of their peoples, are pondering during this brief period of comparative quiet is the position of the League itself. Mr. Eden said at the last meeting of the Council, which in effect announced its abject failure in the Italo-Abyssinian war, that the seriousness of the consequences for the League of the events of the last seven months could scarcely be exaggerated. This is perfectly true—with the substitution of the little word NOT for scarcely. To put the matter concretely, Signor Mussolini, with all Italy behind him, has completely defeated the League; the air is full of his victories—in Geneva not less than in Abyssinia.

PACIFIST MADNESS

It appears to be impossible for the fanatics and extreme partisans of the League to realise the situation. Thus, we see Lord Cecil and others, such as Lord Lytton, who made a rabid speech at the week-end in Edinburgh at a meeting of the League of Nations Union, calling not alone for further Sanctions, but for the closing immediately of the Suez Canal against Italy, though it may be recalled in passing, that our Government has certainly no legal right to do anything of the kind—and there is the further very strong objection that, as things are in the Eastern Mediterranean to-day, that action might prove an extremely difficult and costly proceeding, besides leading probably to another Great War.

Nobody in his senses will believe that our Government, foolish as it is, will embark on such a rash and hazardous course, with the issues so grave. At Geneva Eden, no doubt under instructions, hedged with a strange farcical solemnity when he declared that our Government is prepared to act in accordance with League policy now and in the future "so long as other nations are—and no longer, and to the extent that other nations are—and no farther." Well, we have seen just what the "extent" has been, and the upshot has been plain enough. No wonder the Government hedges!

While the chauvinists of Geneva rage and furiously imagine a vain thing, the more thoughtful and sensible among the advocates of the League

are inclined, under the pressure of all that has occurred since October, to accept the situation as it has developed, and to concentrate on the reform of the League or, if its reform is impracticable, to make a new League and, haply, a better. They may perhaps be credited with meaning well in their quest of peace and security—which indeed all of us want—but first they should seriously ask themselves two questions that go to the root of the matter.

Why is it that the present League has failed? This is one of the questions, and the second is like unto it. What reason is there for supposing that a reformed League or another League, in the existing state of Europe, leaving aside the rest of the world, would prove itself to be more satisfactory, to put it mildly, than the Geneva Institution? To answer these questions truly, it is necessary to get away from the famous "atmosphere" of Geneva and its multitudinous deceptions, intrigues and sordid bargainings behind the scenes, and to face realities.

WHY IT FAILED

First: The League failed because its members found they could not work together for one and the same object, the cause of this divergence being their naturally divergent interests, and their natural preference for their own interests. The devotees of the League lay the blame at the door of France, to come to the case in point. The simple truth is that having regard to Germany, France could not afford to oppose Italy, her ally, too strenuously, and in delaying League action as much and as long as she could against Italy, she was playing for her own safety and security. She practically threw the League policy into the discard for the time being, changing her attitude only after a deal with our Government.

Second: In considering the chances of a substantial reform of the League, or the creation of another League presumably better and more powerful, what should be taken into account is the fact that such changes must involve such fundamental changes in the hearts and minds of the nations which only a miracle of the most stupendous kind could bring about. No candid person will say that there is the slightest chance of such a miracle, for he knows that a reformed League or a new League must be composed of nations with the same divergent interests as before, and the same preference for their own interests—with exactly the result seen at Geneva now, the same impotence and the same ghastly failure.

It is not an alluring prospect. Baldwin once talked of "trying out" the League. It has been tried out and has disclosed its inherent and ineradicable weakness. Not so much the wise course but the only course is to drop it, and have done with it for ever. For peace and security we must look to ourselves. We shall never get them from Geneva.

New Books I Can Recommend

By the Literary Critic

PALMERSTON'S tomb in the Abbey lies in close proximity to those of the two Pitts, Chatham and his great son; and the juxtaposition of the remains of these three men is not inappropriate since they one and all strove for and rejoiced in the glory of England.

Curiously enough the number of biographies of Palmerston have been singularly few. This is no doubt partly explained by the extraordinary length of his official career, the vast political and other changes that his life witnessed, and the fierce controversies his actions and policies frequently aroused. His would-be biographer is faced not with any paucity of colourful material, but rather with an embarrassingly excessive abundance of it.

The difficulties of the task have not deterred an American Professor of History, Dr. Herbert C. F. Bell, of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut; and his two-volume biography, just issued ("Lord Palmerston," illustrated, 42s. Longmans) impresses one as a fine and scholarly achievement which gives evidence of a wide range of historical knowledge and prodigious zeal in biographical research.

A Great Patriot

Professor Bell finds in the intensity of his "nationalism" the clue to Palmerston's character and policies. He contrasts Palmerston's constant readiness to be reconciled with Russell with his intolerance towards Gladstone, who "was never pardoned for wishing to reduce what he (Gladstone) regarded as unnecessary expenditure for national defence."

The pre-eminence that Palmerston coveted for his country, Professor Bell insists, was "not only material, but even more, perhaps, moral." But "as steward of England's prestige and interests, he had always to give them precedence" and "it was not for him to spend British lives or British treasure where British honour or British interests were not obviously concerned."

Would that some of our recent Foreign Ministers had been endowed with a little Palmerstonian wisdom and some of his flair for managing the Powers of Europe.

Napoleon's "Divorce of his Good Fortune"

"The National History of France," under the general editorship of M. Fr. Funck-Bretano, has already run into many bulky volumes dealing with various periods from the earliest times down to the inauguration of the Third Republic.

It is based on the principle of letting contemporaries, as far as possible, tell the story of their own age. This both enhances the authoritative character of the work and adds to its attractiveness.

For the benefit of English readers, Messrs. Heinemann have brought out translations of the various volumes as they have been published. The latest to appear is Volume II of M. Louis Madelin's vividly written history of "The Consulate and the Empire" (ably translated by E. F. Buckley, 15s.).

This second volume starts with the divorce of Josephine and the marriage of Napoleon with Marie Louise of Austria, and ends with the battle of Waterloo and with Napoleon seeking refuge on the *Bellerophon*, "the ante-chamber of that prison where he was to end his days."

The fall of Napoleon, M. Madelin suggests, was in a sense the Nemesis that awaited on his callous sacrifice of Josephine to his ambitions of founding a dynasty. In getting rid of Josephine he "divorced his Good Fortune," while in marrying the "fresh and rosy" Marie Louise he "wedded treachery."

"Even the soldiers, who had often seen her (Josephine) with their 'Little Corporal' were upset by her fall. 'He ought not to have given up his old girl,' they declared in 1813 when disaster was overtaking France. 'She brought him luck and us, too.'"

"Josephine might not have regarded the tribute as particularly flattering, and would doubtless have preferred the reply which Canova declared he made when the Emperor expressed surprise that the great artist should not have congratulated him on his second marriage."

"How can I congratulate Your Majesty on having divorced his Good Fortune," he retorted. And it was not long before public opinion echoed the words of the outspoken artist and declared that in separating from the companion of his miraculous youth Napoleon "had divorced his Good Fortune."

Some Good Novels

One imagines that there is a substratum of fact underlying Mr. Lewis E. Lawes' somewhat unusual story of four men who over a period of one hundred years successively occupy the same cell in Sing Sing prison ("Cell 202," Rich & Cowan, 10s. 6d.). Whether founded on fact or not, it makes good reading, in spite of occasional exuberance in language.

Mr. John Gray's "Let Us Pray" (Harrap) is, one gathers from the publishers' blurb, partly autobiographical. It paints a grimly ironical but obviously sincere picture of a life of almost unrelieved adversity.

In lighter vein is Joy Gelzer's simply told romance, "Prima Donna" (Denis Archer).

Admirers of Mr. Thomas Wolfe's "Look Homeward Angel," will not fail to note the facility with which he adapts the richness of his colourful style to the restricted canvas of the short story in his "From Death to Morning" (Heinemann).

"Crookedshaws," by Winifred Duke (Jarrolds), is a powerful and gripping story of passion and murder.

**We invite our readers
to write to us express-
ing their views on
matters of current
:: :: interest :: ::**

WHAT OUR R

Bravo, Mussolini!

DEAR LADY HOUSTON,—

As usual, your Ladyship has given, in the latest issue of the *Saturday Review*, the right perspective to your readers.

While our singularly inept "National" Government has been affording the world at large an unedifying spectacle of distressful floundering in the League Sanctions morass into which they have been landed by the folly of that obstinate sentimentalist, the one and only Mr. Eden, you have rightly directed the attention of the British public to the remarkable triumphs of Italy and of its great leader and patriot, Signor Mussolini.

Our fatuous politicians and their henchmen in the Press have, ever since the opening of the Abyssinian war, never tired of warning Italy and Signor Mussolini of the difficulties confronting them in the Abyssinian terrain. These croakers prophesied a long and wearisome campaign in which the might of Italy would expend itself to the point of exhaustion.

The *Saturday Review* alone among English journals and weeklies from the very beginning forecasted the probability of a speedy Italian triumph, in which the Italian Air Force would have its conspicuous share (witness for example, the article "The Moral of Adowa" in your issue of August 10, 1935, before the war even began).

The event has fully justified the *Saturday Review's* predictions and is a tribute to your Ladyship's far-sighted and sound judgment. You, too, from the first insisted upon the justice of Italy's case against Abyssinia, setting an example which unhappily was not generally followed.

Is it not time now that our Ministers and the English Press as a whole stopped their senseless campaign against Italy and Signor Mussolini, and followed your wise lead of recognising Italy's claims to colonial expansion and rejoicing in the triumphs of our former friend and ally?

Mussolini is a statesman whose friendship will be invaluable to us in the future. He has made Italy what it is to-day, and the Abyssinian triumph is in itself proof of his own greatness and of the greatness of the country to which he has given rebirth.

"Bravo Mussolini" is beyond question the right slogan for this hour of our own country's complete disillusionment over League futilities.

Cheltenham.

ROBERT JACKSON.

A Century of Progress!

SIR,—From Palmerston to Eden!

I quote the following from *The Observer* of April 24, 1836:

Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons on Wednesday, dealing with the relations of this country with foreign Powers, said: "I conceive the feelings of Parliament and the interests of the country to be that we should submit to wrong from no Power whatever, that we should not permit any Power to provoke us with impunity; but that we should also cautiously abstain from anything which might be construed by other Powers as being a provocation on our part—that we should stand upon our rights and defend our own, but pause till we have really good and just ground of quarrel before we disturb the state of peace so essential to the interests of civilisation."

NIL DESPERANDUM.

Eden's Bloodthirsty Friends

MY LADY,—

I read in the *Yorkshire Post* under the head of "Military Sanctions" the following:—

"The most encouraging support for the strengthening of sanctions came from Soviet Russia and Mexico."

This purports to be a Press Association Special from Geneva.

Now we see that the principal supporters of our Foreign Minister are two regicide Republics. Of the first it is unnecessary to write; its records are too fresh in the memories of all, reeking as they do of murder, torture, slavery, robbery, and peculation.

Of the latter those among us, who are of an age to do so, cannot recall without horror the events of 1867 and the judicial murder of an ill-fated Emperor, Ferdinand Maximilian, Grand Duke of Austria, the tragic life and death of his Consort, the red butchery of the Alamo, the treachery of "perjured Cos," the dreadful sufferings of the Texan prisoners from Santa Fé, the "black beans," the "tally of cars"—but why recapitulate the fiendish horrors of that worst of Spanish-American Republics?

And these are the chief backers of Mr. Eden in his campaign to impose further sanctions on Italy! Truly our England has fallen very low these days: Collective Security with the foregoing countries as part of the "collection"; what possible trust could be put in either with such a record?

Apparently the National Government and its so-called Conservative supporters approve, "these be your friends, Oh England" is the cry. Great wrongs are done from two causes: the first is avarice, that is to say hope of gain in either wealth, power, or position. The second is fear.

If I may be allowed to judge it is the latter from which the Government suffers at the present time, but fear of what? It is well known that a debtor will never disclose the total of his liabilities until these are dragged out of him in the Bankruptcy Court; he tells half truths and minimises his commitments to his best friends. This has been the habit of the late and present Government, e.g., Mr. Baldwin's replies last November to questions relating to aerial expansion by other Powers. Mr. Baldwin is in the same position as the debtor above mentioned; he is afraid to "own up."

A. C. H. MAYNARD.

The Quarry, Ebberston,
Scarborough.

A Legacy of Eden

DEAR MADAM,—

As an Italian who has many English friends and who would like to see a renewal of the old friendship between his own country and yours, may I be permitted to thank you very sincerely for your noble and courageous action in defending Italy against her traducers.

England's present Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, has by his League fanaticism done very much, it is to be feared, to estrange our two countries from one another, and since the English Press generally allows its opinions on foreign policy to be guided by its own Government's attitude and actions, my own countrymen have some excuse for believing—what I personally do not think is really the case—that English public opinion is very largely biased against them.

It may take a very long time to shake off the baneful effects of the Eden legacy of hostility and distrust. But at least one may rejoice that there is one important organ of English opinion which is consistently friendly towards Italy and appreciative of her civilising work.

I can assure you that the *Saturday Review's* articles are read with great satisfaction and interest both by Italian residents in England and by the public in Italy through quotations in the Italian Press.

If England and Italy are ever to be friends again, credit for the reconciliation will be largely due to your Ladyship for your efforts in helping to keep the way to that friendship ever open.

LUIGI CAMERANO.

Firenze.

R READERS THINK

The League's Admission

SIR,—The League's official admission is that Italy is NOT the aggressor.

The following is an extract of a letter addressed to me by the League of Nations, 16, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2, which admits that Italy was NOT named the aggressor:

"If what you seek is an official statement declaring Italy 'the aggressor,' such a statement, with the use of that word, *does not appear*, but the phrase used is in accordance with the relevant phrase contained in Article 16. Signed H. R. Cummings, representing the Secretary-General in London."

There is not a relevant phrase in paragraph 1, 2, 3 or 4 of Article 16 of the Covenant, wherein any member of the League who has disregarded its Covenants is named the aggressor, BUT—the Committee of Arbitration on the Wal Wal incident in League document C.411, M.207 page 6 says:—

(1) That Italy cannot be held responsible for the Wal Wal incident. . . many precautions taken by them to prevent any incident.

(2) That the Ethiopian Government through its local authorities may have given the impression that they had aggressive intentions.

In view of the prospect that Mr. Anthony Eden may endeavour to raise public opinion on the slogan "No reward to the Aggressor," and the consequent danger of Britain going to War to save Mr. Eden's "face," the "Aggressor" lie should receive the widest publicity.

As I am holding public and private meetings giving the Italian case from a British view, I am stressing this point.

S. BRUCE-SMITH.

34, George Street,
Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

Abusing Our Patience

SIR,—When one thinks of the men at present misguiding the country's destinies one is reminded of the words long ago addressed by a Roman orator to another "menace."

"How long are you to be allowed to abuse our patience?"

We, Conservative voters, did not put Mr. Baldwin in power in order to reduce our country's defences to the vanishing point nor to aggravate the perils of an arming world by letting a provocative busybody in the shape of Mr. Eden work his will upon it.

Yet Mr. Baldwin complaisantly views his handiwork and finds it amazingly good.

Can nothing be done to enlighten "Old Sealed Lips" (as Low contemptuously calls him) regarding the growing irritation which his own hopeless lethargy and the foolish antics of Mr. Eden have been arousing among large sections of the genuine Conservative electorate?

Guildford. L. M. PARKINSON.

Jerry-Building New India

SIR,—The old British Raj which for close on two hundred years brought India peace and prosperity was not considered good enough for the present age of political enlightenment. So our idealists set about establishing a new regime which would have none of the "harsh" features of the Raj that was to be displaced.

But even these idealists were forced to recognise that in building a New India in accordance with their own high principles they could not wholly afford to ignore the experience of the past or neglect certain conditions which had enabled the old Raj to function so efficiently and so well.

Hence we were assured that the builders of the new constitutional edifice were fully alive to the necessity of retaining the better part of the old "steel frame" of Indian administration "for a long time to come" and

had every intention of utilising the "stabilising force" of Princely India for buttressing up the Federal structure they were erecting.

Unhappily, as is the way with all idealists, they had not reckoned upon any failure of the fundamental elements in their plans. And it is only when we are being asked to look upon their work and see how good it is that the essential weaknesses in their jerry-building are becoming too apparent to be capable of being covered up and hidden.

Not only are the Ruling Princes displaying extraordinary reluctance to act the part of "stabilising force" assigned to them, but an India Office communique just issued reveals the disquieting fact that of late years there has been a tremendous fall in British recruitment for the Indian Civil Service.

Every effort, we are assured, is to be made to whip up British recruitment for the I.C.S. in the future and for this purpose nomination and recommendation are to take the place of competitive examination. The unwilling youth of Britain are, in short, to be cajoled into entering a Service which has lost all its attractions owing to the zeal of our idealists for getting rid of British responsibility for India.

Does anyone imagine that this "drive" directed by Whitehall at the youth of our Universities will have the desired effect? And if it does not, how is this New India to secure "the strong British element in the Services" which the Joint Select Committee declared that "India will not for a long time to come be able to dispense with"?

And how long will this jerry-built New India survive with the main foundations, considered so essential for it, missing?

Hampstead Way, N.W.11.

FRANCIS BURGESS.

An Appreciation

DEAR LADY HOUSTON,—

I should like to thank you for the great effort you are making. It does one's heart good to read your journal. I am convinced, too, that you are making headway, as many people I speak to seem to be going your direction. Pray continue your good work.

THOS. PEARSON.

Burbridge Street,
Bolton, Lancs.

Has Summer Time Failed?

SIR,—Although the practice of altering the clock in the spring and autumn has only been in operation for a comparatively short period, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the introduction of Summer Time was a mistake. Having regard to the fact that fundamentally the habits and customs of the people are governed by the natural phenomena resulting from the earth's rotation, it is surprising that so fantastic and far-reaching a proposal should have received more than a moment's consideration.

The lack of a reliable standard of time, especially to those who are striving to build up an A1 population, must present a formidable handicap. Indeed, the difficulties created by the aberrations of the nation's time-piece may be such as to render the attainment of this ideal impossible. Clearly, unless the inhabitants of this country are free to go about their daily occupations unhindered, eating, resting and sleeping at the times found best by experience, how can they attain that degree of health and efficiency which, in this competitive age, is so essential if this nation is to maintain its position in the world.

The repeal of the Federal Daylight Saving Law in the United States, the referendums on Daylight Saving in not a few Canadian cities, the suppression of the experiment in Germany and Central Europe, recent evidence that

WHAT OUR READERS THINK

Summer Time is not yet a closed question in Russia, the restoration of normal time in Italy and Spain, the by no means negligible opposition to the measure existing in France, the negative character of the results in Great Britain, together with the complete absence of proof that Summer Time is, or has been, beneficial to anybody, suggest, to my mind, that the time is rapidly approaching when a re-examination of this matter might well be undertaken with advantage.

Sydenham, S.E.26.

T.M.G.

"Educating England's Tramps"

SIR,—Why not? Tramps are unemployed men who have leisure, at least in the days when they are "tramping." Also on the very vacant Sundays they spend in the casual ward. In some places Toc H now takes an interest in them, and visits them on Sunday afternoon. This is much to be desired, for it provides "contacts."

The *Saturday Review* is to be commended for having an article on the above subject. Long ago I (and no doubt many "tramps") had heard of Mr. Lionel Jones of Baldock, who keeps a Wayfarers' Bookshop. If books are sent him I hope they will be many and varied. They want books on natural history. Naturally! Who can see so much of Nature as a wayfarer! He does not much differ from a "hiker." And he loves poetry. Well and good, for have not some been good poets? Languages, because sometimes they are great travellers.

But a taste for mathematics is somewhat uncommon! However, it is said there is to be a "Hoboes Conference" in England in 1937, so we may have "foreign guests!"

A friend of mine, Edward G. West, Melbury, Salcombe, Devon, is also trying to circulate literature all through Devon by means of Toc H which visits Devon casual wards. I believe it is from Blackborough Home near Exeter that he is endeavouring to institute a circulatory system for the benefit of wayfarers.

Books by tramps, such as "I was a Tramp," by John Brown, are most interesting reading.

MARY HIGGS OLDHAM.

Vagrancy Reform Society.

Signs of Spring

SIR,—I was interested by the suggestion of C. D. Dimsdale in his article on Signs of Spring that "cast not a clout till May is out" refers to hawthorn and not to the month.

It does seem to apply to English weather, and yet there is an Italian proverb which suggests that the month of May is meant.

The Italians say: "*In aprile non ti scoprire, maggio adagio, giugno allarga il pugno!*" meaning: "In April keep well covered, in May go cautiously, in June let go!"

The proverb really warns you not to indulge in light clothing until May is well over.

There are similar proverbs in Czechoslovakia such as: "*Studený máj, ve stodole ráj*" which emphasises the snug warmth of a barn, "when the month of May is cold."

Possibly your readers know of such proverbs in other languages?

HEDDA VESELY.

Czechoslovak Legation,
8, Grosvenor Place, S.W.1.

Penalising Loyalty to Please Communism

SIR,—On Sunday, the 26th April, the Cavalry Old Comrades held their Annual Service at Stanhope Gate, Hyde Park, in memory of Cavalrymen of the Regiments of the British Empire who gave their lives in the Great War.

There were about 5,000 officers and men past and present at the ceremony, and an equal number of the general public.

In former years loud-speakers had been made use of to enable those present to follow the service; this year their installation was forbidden, and His Majesty's Office of Works remained adamant to all representations.

The result was that very few persons among that vast concourse of people were able to pay their tribute to the fallen, nor did they receive that solace which would have been theirs had they been able to hear the words of the clergy and others who addressed them.

The reason for refusal on the part of His Majesty's Office of Works is difficult to imagine, but it is believed that it was based on the fact that the use of amplifiers is not permitted at Communist and other meetings which are held during week-ends at the Marble Arch.

If this is a fact, His Majesty's Office of Works should not be blamed too severely, since it has merely carried out the policy adopted by successive Governments since the War, namely, that of penalising loyal elements in order to placate those of a subversive character.

ARTHUR SOLLY-FLOOD (Major General).

Marlborough Club.

The New Fireside Fighters

SIR,—In the last war we heard much about "fireside fighters," to their detriment. In the next war, should it ever come, which God forbid, fireside fighters of another type will form a strong line of national defence. Our industrial and military existence largely depends on oil, over 95 per cent. of which is imported.

As the Government now realises, it is essential that we extract oil from coal as a reserve fuel supply, and with our huge coal deposits, we might well produce a large proportion of our total needs and at an economic price. This year, for example, Germany expects to produce by various processes a million tons of petrol (equal to a quarter of Britain's imports), and in addition, about 300,000 tons of benzole.

It happens that the production of oil from coal in this country by low temperature carbonisation is economical in peace time *only* if there is a demand for the smokeless fuel manufactured in the process. Yet the majority of the new flats which are being built by the thousand, and quite a number of new houses, have no open grates even as an alternative to gas and electricity. Flatholders are denied the opportunity in peace of helping to build up the national oil reserve; and in war they would *not* keep the home fires burning. The question is well worth the attention of Sir Thomas Inskip.

T. WILLIAMS

House of Commons.

(M.P. for Don Valley).

People who are patriots, who would like something more than the "hush-hush" news of most of the daily papers, and want to know and hear the truth, should buy

"The Patriot"

"The National Review"

and

their humble servant

"The Saturday Review"

THEATRE NOTES

"Parnell"

Gate Theatre Studio

By Elsie T. Schauffler.

IT is a thousand pities that this play can never be seen by the playgoing public. It is an exquisite and moving play, it is extremely well acted, admirably produced and—no-one may see it. The great-grandfathers of certain citizens are portrayed on the stage and so the Lord Chamberlain has forbidden any public performance. No doubt the English nation will be the better for it and another great play will never see the light of day.

In the circumstances it would be highly improper for me even to hint what the play is about, though I cannot expect that anyone would be so foolish as to imagine that it was not in some way connected with the private life of Parnell. One of the other characters is Kate O'Shea and Mr. Gladstone makes a fleeting appearance. But perhaps I have said too much.

Those who love the Theatre are already under a great debt to Mr. Norman Marshall and his very beautiful production of this play places people like myself even more in his debt than before.

As for the acting I think I may be allowed to say that Mr. Wyndham Goldie gave a restrained and moving performance as Parnell, that Miss Margaret Rawlings was better than I have ever seen her as Mrs. O'Shea and that Mr. Arthur Young and Mr. William Ewart Gladstone will for ever be synonymous terms as far as I am concerned. Moreover I am prepared to swear that Mr. J. A. O'Rourke was not acting at all. He was just being Thomas Murphy.

I do hope that Mr. Norman Marshall will continue with his work at the Gate. He is one of the most important personalities in the theatre of to-day and quite certainly our best producer.

"Quality Street"

Sadler's Wells

By Sir James Barrie.

THERE has been in the last few years a growing interest in and enthusiasm for Amateur Theatricals and the Toc H Drama League is to be congratulated on its 220th performance. It required courage to take Sadler's Wells for the production of so intimate a play as Barrie's "Quality Street" and I must confess to some trepidation as to the ability of amateurs to "get over" to the audience in so large a theatre.

There is, however, no doubt that Mr. J. C. Ledward has a way with him and managed to produce with his band of amateurs such a performance as any West End house should be pleased to put on for a run. I would for my part welcome the arrival of that set of circumstances which would induce Mr. Ledward to forsake his present profession and devote his time entirely to stage production.

It is perhaps a little invidious to make selections from a large cast in which so many individual performances were good. Nevertheless such admirable portrayals as those of Miss Joy Statham and Miss Thelma Wissler, in the parts of Miss Phoebe and Miss Susan Throssel respectively, must not

pass unnoticed. Charles Hooper, too, gave as sure a touch to the characterisation of Valentine Brown as one could wish. Cecil Purcell was a lovable though very naughty Master Arthur Wellesley and Brian Sullivan conveyed the self-possession and perhaps not unnatural conceit of young Ensign Blades in no uncertain manner.

With Lloyd's most competent Light Orchestra to provide the entractes, a delightful evening's entertainment was complete and I look forward to further signs of activity on the part of the Toc H Drama League.

"The Great Experiment"

St. Martin's Theatre

By John Hoare

THE Great Experiment at St. Martin's Theatre challenges fate by its title.

John Hoare has taken an old idea for his play and it is connected with Mars—the star—and the possibly deplorable results to civilisation if wireless communication to that planet were ever to be perfected.

Professor Ray Fanshawe (Arthur Wontner) imagines that he has received answers to his messages to Mars and this brings about his ears a hornet's nest in the shape of the Prime Minister, the Governor of the Bank of England, an Admiral and an ecclesiastically-minded peer of the realm. Two scenes are set in the Professor's laboratory and a good many technicalities are used. To those members of the audience who were interested in wireless "gadgets" such technicalities meant no doubt a great deal but without specific knowledge an onlooker could not see as much of the game as he would possibly have liked.

It would be unfair to divulge the solution of the play. Suffice it to say that there is excellent acting by Malcolm Keen as the hunchback, Henry Calder, Abraham Sofaer, Rene Gadd and Antoinette Cellier.

C.S.

Vanishing Sons of the Snake

The desert regions of South Africa are the theme of an interesting and informative book by Mr. Carel Birkby—"Thirstland Treks" (illustrated, Faber, 18s.).

Here we have revealed to us the past and present history of these regions, their many mysteries, the story of pioneers, gold prospectors, diamond mines and crooks, and the character of the native populations.

Deep in the dark heart of this "Thirstland," we are told, lurk the last of the Bushmen, "the most primitive race in the world." "Sons of the Snake," they sometimes call themselves.

"They are a vanishing people, these little brown men; they are making their last unavailing stand against civilisation.

"Even now they pause in their looking for favourite foods such as fieldmice and scorpions to stare startled at the sky and the strange 'giant birds' that are beginning to wing across the desert—the aeroplane that show the white man is pushing on into the last unknown regions of Africa.

"The last Bushmen are scattered over sixty thousand square miles, and of this area at least fifty thousand square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season."

CINEMA**Sylvia Scarlett**

BY MARK FORREST

EVERY now and again the pictures at all the principal cinemas provide amusement on such a good level that one is tempted to think that the level will be maintained, since it has been reached everywhere, and that never again, for instance, will good novels have their themes so distorted that the authors have their work cut out to recognise their own children.

Whenever one has been foolish enough to allow oneself to fall asleep, wrapped about in this blanket of satisfaction, there invariably starts a chill wind, like the bleak breeze which so often heralds the dawn, and on waking up there stands before one's eyes something which makes one wonder whether there has been any real progress at all. Both moods are equally wrong and both reactions exaggerated. There is no doubt that the level of talking pictures is much higher than it was, and that the bigger companies manage, generally speaking, to provide good entertainment; it is also true that they all come a cropper at least once a year with a big picture.

The particular cropper which has given rise to what is written above is the latest Radio film which is at the Regal. This is an adaptation of *Sylvia Scarlett*; at least that is what it purports to be, but the three people who are responsible for this screen version apparently think that they can construct a better story than Mr. Compton Mackenzie.

Their attempt is not a patch upon the original and, what is worse, in finding a way out of their own tortuous labyrinth they have lost the tempo and mislaid the spirit of the book entirely. A sprightly piece of satire abounding in delightful situations has been translated into a silly, dull affair.

The cast is headed by Katherine Hepburn, and it is plain that Radio Pictures bought the book to produce her once again as a tomboy; but by eliding and colliding they have taken away all life from the original, and the result does nothing to increase this actress's reputation. Also in the cast are Edmund Gwenn, as Henry Scarlett, to whom the adapters have given an unusually long life; Brian Aherne, as Michael Fane, whose story properly belongs to *Sylvia and Michael*, and Cary Grant as Jimmy Monkley. Arthur Madden and Philip Iredale do not appear at all, so that admirers of the novel may well hold their heads in wonderment.

ACADEMY CINEMA, Oxford St., Ger. 2981

The gayest film of the season!

MARTA EGGERTH in

"LIEBESMELODIE" (A)

Music by FRANZ LEHAR

BROADCASTING**Warned Off!**

BY ALAN HOWLAND

THERE is something about the B.B.C. which endears it to the heart of even the most hot-headed listener. It is so suave, so courteous, so eager to ingratiate itself with the people through whom it makes its living. Several broadcasting artists of my acquaintance have, during the last few days, told me how grateful they are to the B.B.C. for its consideration and kindness. Two of them who had been broadcasting regularly for over ten years were enthusiastic about the tactful way in which they had been, as it were, "warned off."

As far as I can gather, the B.B.C. is very annoyed whenever it hears one of its regular broadcasters performing from a Continental station. For a time it put up with this indignity, but now it is not prepared to stand any further nonsense. Artists are therefore being informed that, if they make gramophone records or film sound tracks which may at some future date be broadcast from any Continental station, the B.B.C. will take a very serious view and in all probability offer them no further engagements.

Polite Blackmail

Needless to say, all the artists who have been threatened in this way have immediately cancelled all their Continental contracts in order to retain their friendly relations with the B.B.C. It is in fact in their own interests to do so, for whereas they may possibly obtain six jobs a year at four guineas a time from the B.B.C. they only get one job a week at five guineas a time from the wicked people who arrange the subversive programmes from across the Channel.

It never occurs to these artists that they are the victims of a polite form of blackmail. They do not stop to consider the fact that the B.B.C. delights to use all the powers which are invested in the worst type of monopoly. They merely acquiesce. Or do they?

To put it bluntly, the B.B.C. has no right whatever to dictate to the artists whom it employs. However much it may detest the advertising programmes which may be heard from time to time from foreign stations, it holds no power to direct the private lives of the artists whom it engages. That the B.B.C. is incompetent I hope I have proved during the last four years, that it is unprincipled in its internal dealings nobody of sense any longer denies. That it should try to prevent competent artists from earning a livelihood I should not have believed unless it had been proved to me beyond any shadow of doubt.

The "SATURDAY REVIEW" REGISTER OF SELECTED HOTELS LICENSED

ABERFELDY, Perthshire. — Station Hotel. Rec., 2. Pens., 4 to 5 gns. Tennis, golf, fishing, bowling.

ALEXANDRIA, Dumbartonshire. — A'bert Hotel. Bed., 10; Rec., 2. Pens., 3 gns. Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/6. Fishing, Loch Lomond.

AVEMORE, Inverness-shire. — Aviemore Hotel. Bed., 100; Rec., 4. Pens., 5 gns. to 10 gns. Golf, Private. Fishing, shooting, riding, tennis.

AYLESBURY. — Bull's Head Hotel. Market Square. Bed., 24; Rec., 4. Pens., 4 gns. W.E., £2/7/6. Garden, golf, tennis, bowls, fishing.

BAMBURGH, NORTHUMBERLAND. — Victoria Hotel. Rec., 3. Pens., 6 gns. Tennis, golf, shooting, fishing.

BELFAST. — Kensington Hotel. Bed., 76; Rec., 5. Pens., 4 gns.; W.E., Sat. to Mon., 27/6. Golf, 10 mins., 2/6.

BLACKPOOL. — Grand Hotel. H. & C. Fully licensed. Billiards. Very moderate.

BOURNE END, Bucks. — The Spade Oak Hotel. Bed., 20. Rec., 4 and bar. Pens., 5 to 7 gns. Tennis, golf, bathing.

BOWNESS-ON-WINDERMERE. Rigg's Crown Hotel. Pens., 5 gns. to 7 gns. Golf, 1½ miles. Yachting, fishing.

BRACKNELL, Berkshire. — Station Hotel. Bed., 7; Rec., 2. Pens., 3½ to 4 gns. W.E., Sat. to Mon., 2 gns. Golf, riding.

BRIGHTON, Sussex. — Sixty-six Hotel. Bed., 33; Rec., 5; Pens., from 4½ gns. W.E. from 32/6. Golf, 9 courses in vicinity. Tennis, bathing, boating, polo, hunting.

BROADSTAIRS, Kent. — Grand Hotel. Pens., from 5 gns. W.E., from £1 per day. Lun., 4/6; Din., 6/6. Golf, tennis, bathing, dancing.

BURFORD, OXON. — The Lamb Hotel. Bed., 12; Rec., 3. Pens., 4 gns. to 5 gns. W.E., 15/- per day. Golf, trout fishing, riding, hunting.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Suffolk. — Angel Hotel. Bed., 35; Rec., 2. Pens., 5 gns. W.E., 2 gns. Lun., 3/6; Din., 5/6. Golf fishing, racing.

CALLANDER, Perthshire. — Trossachs Hotel, Trossachs. Bed., 60. Pens., fr. 3 gns. Lun., 3/6; Din., 6/-. Golf, fishing, tennis.

CAMBRIDGE. — Garden House Hotel, nr. Pembroke College. Pens., 3½ to 5 gns. W.E., 14/- to 17/6 per day. Golf 3 miles; boating, tennis.

CARDIFF. — Park Hotel, Park Place. Bed., 115; Rec., 4. Pens., 7 gns. W.E. (Sat. Lun. to Mon. Brkfst.), 37/6. Golf.

CLOVELLY. — New Inn, High Street. — Bed., 30; Rec., 1. Pens., 5 to 6 gns. Golf, fishing, sea bathing.

CLYNDERWEN. — Castle Hotel, Maer-clochey. Pens. £2 10/-. Lun., 1/6; Din., 2/6. Golf, 12 miles away.

COMRIE, Perthshire. — Ancaster Arms Hotel. Bed., 10; Rec., 3. Pens., £3 10/-. W.E., 12/- per day. Tennis, golf, fishing, bowls.

CONISTON, ENGLISH LAKES. — The Waterhead Hotel. Pens., from £5 10/-. Golf, boating, putting green, tennis.

DOWNDERRY, CORNWALL. — Sea View. Bed., 9; Annexe, 5. Pens., from 3½ gns. W.E. from 35/-. Golf, fishing, tennis.

DULVERTON, Som. (border of Devon). — Lion Hotel. Pens., 4 gns. W.E., 12/6 per day. Golf, 3 miles. Fishing, riding, hunting, tennis.

DUNDEE. — The Royal British Hotel is the best. H. & C. in all bedrooms. Restaurant, managed by Prop. Phone: 5095.

ELY, Cambs. — The Lamb Hotel. Bed., 20; Rec., 5. Pens., 5 gns. W.E., £2 15/-. Lun., 3/6; Din., 5/-. Boating.

FALMOUTH, Cornwall. — The Manor House Hotel, Budock Vean. Bed., 46; Rec., 2. Pens., from 5 gns. to 8 gns. Golf, boating, fishing, tennis.

GLASGOW, W.2. — Belhaven Hotel, 22 to 26, Belhaven Terrace. Bed., 66; Rec., 6. Pens., from £3 5/-. Lun., 3/-; Din., 5/-. Tennis, golf.

GLASGOW, C.2. — Grand Hotel, 560, Sauchiehall St., Charing Cross. Bed., 110. Pens., 6 gns.; W.E., 13/6 per day. Tennis courts adjacent. Golf, 1/- per round.

GREAT MALVERN, Worcestershire. — Royal Foley Hotel. Bed., 32; Rec., 3. Pens., from 5 to 7 gns.; W.E., 15/- to 17/6 day. Golf, putting green.

GULLANE, East Lothian. — Bisset's Hotel. Bed., 25; Rec., 5. Pens., 4 to 5 gns. W.E., 14/- to 16/- per day. Tennis courts. Golf, swimming, riding, bowling.

HAMILTON, Lanarkshire, Scotland. — Royal Hotel, Bed., 12; Rec., 3. Pens., from 3 gns. W.E., 25/-. Golf, tennis, bowls. Tel. 164. Geo. Dodd, proprietor.

HASLEMERE, Surrey. — Georgian Hotel. Bed., 26; Rec., 4. Pens., 5 gns.; W.E., 35/- to 47/6. Tennis, golf.

HERNE BAY. — Miramar Hotel, Beltinge. Bed., 27; Rec., 2. Pens., from 4 gns. W.E., fr. 45/-. Golf, bowls, tennis, bathing.

ILFRACOMBE, Devon. — Mount Hotel. Pens., from 3 gns. to 5 gns. Overlooking sea. All bedrooms with H. & C. Many with private bathrooms. Tennis.

ROYAL CLARENCE Hotel, High Street. Bed., 60; Rec., 3. Pens., 4 gns. W.E., 13/6 per day. Tennis, golf, fishing, boating, bathing.

INVERARY. — Argyll Arms Hotel. Bed., 26. Pens., 6 gns. W.E., 18/- per day. Lun., 3/6; Din., 6/-. Golf, fishing, tennis.

KESWICK, English Lakes. — The Keswick Hotel. Bed., 100; Rec., 5. Pens., 5 gns. 6 gns. season. W.E., fr. 15/- per day. Golf, tennis, boating, bowls, fishing.

KIBWORTH. — The Rose and Crown. Kibworth, near Leicester. A.A. R.A.C., and B.F.S.S. appointed.

LANWRTYD WELLS, Central Wales. — Dol-y-Coed Hotel. Bed., 35; Rec., 4. Pens., winter £4 7/6; sum., £4 15/-. W.E., 30/-. Golf, own course. Fishing, tennis.

LOCH AWE, Argyll. — Loch Awe Hotel. Phone: Dalnally 6. Bed., 70; Rec., 4. Pens., 5 to 8 gns. acc. to season. Tennis, golf, fishing, boating.

LONDON. — Barkston House Hotel, 1, Barkston Gardens, S.W.5. Tel.: Fro. 2259. Pens., 2½ to 3 gns.

GORE Hotel, 139, Queen's Gate, S.W.7. Bed., 36; Rec., 2, and cocktail bar. Pens., from 3½ gns. Tennis.

GUILDFORD HOUSE HOTEL, 56/7, Guildford Street, W.C.1. — Terr. 5530. Rec., 1. Pens., £2 10/-. Bridge.

HOTEL STRATHCONA, 25 & 26, Lancaster Gate, W.2. Bed., 36; Rec., 5. Pens., 3½ gns. to 4½ gns. Table tennis.

SHAFTESBURY Hotel, Gt. St. Andrew Street, W.C.2. 2 mins. Leicester Sq. Tube. 250 bedrooms, h. and c. water. Room, bath, breakfast, 7/6; double, 13/6.

THE PLAZA Hotel, St. Martin's Street, Leicester Square, W.C.2. Bed., 100. Pens., from 4½ gns. W.E., £1 16/6. Lun., 3/6; Din., 4/6.

LOSSIEMOUTH, Morayshire. — Stotfield Hotel. Bed., 70; Rec., 3. Pens., 4 gns. to £5 16/6. W.E., 36/- to 45/-. Golf, fishing, bowling, tennis.

LYNMOUTH, N. Devon. — Bevan's Lyn Hotel. Bed., 48. Pens., from 4 to 6 gns. W.E., 26/-. Lun., 3/6 and 4/-; Din., 5/6. Golf, hunting, fishing, tennis, dancing.

MORTEHOE, N. Devon. — Chichester Arms Hotel. Bed., 6; Rec., 2. Pens., £2 10/-. W.E., £1 7/-. Golf, bathing.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. — Central Exchange Hotel, Grey Street. Bed., 70; Rec., 9. Pens., £4. W.E., 36/-. Golf, fishing, bathing.

OTTERBURN HALL Hotel. — Bed., 44; Rec., 3. Pens., from 5 gns.; W.E., from 45/-. 5 hard courts. Golf on estate, fishing.

NEWTON STEWART, Wigtownshire. — Galloway Arms Hotel. Bed., 17; Rec., 5. Pens., £3 10/- to £4. Golf, fishing, bathing, bowling, tennis.

NITON, Nr. Ventnor, I.O.W. — Niton Undercliff Hotel. Bed., 17; Rec., 4; Pens., from 5 gns. W.E. from £2 5/-. Golf, bathing, fishing, tennis.

OCKHAM, Surrey. — The Hantboy Hotel. Pens., 5 gns; W.E., £1 per day. Lun., 4/6; Tea, 1/9; Din., 6/-. Golf.

PADSTOW, Cornwall. — Commercial Hotel. Good fishing, good golf, rocks. Tel.: "Cookson," Padstow.

PAIGNTON, DEVON. — Radcliffe Hotel. Marine Drive. Bed., 70; Rec., 3; Pens., from 4 gns., from 5 to 7 gns. during season. W.E., 15/- to 18/- per day. Golf, tennis.

PERTH Scotland. — Station Hotel. Bed., 100; Rec., 4; Pens., from 4 gns.; W.E., from 24/-; Lun., 3/6; Tea, 1/6; Din., 6/-; Garden.

PETERBOROUGH. — Saracen's Head Hotel. Bed., 12; Rec., 2. Pens., 3½ gns. W.E., 30/-; Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/6. Tennis, fishing, boating, horse-riding.

PLYMOUTH, Devon. — Central Hotel. Bed., 40; Rec., 3; Pens., 4 to 5 gns. Golf, tennis, bowls, sea and river fishing.

PORTPATRICK, WIGTOWNSHIRE. — Portpatrick Hotel. Bed., 65. Pens., from £5 weekly. Golf, boating, bathing, tennis.

RICHMOND, Surrey. — Star & Garter Hotel. — England's historic, exquisite, romantic, social centre and Rendezvous.

RIPON, Yorks. — Unicorn Hotel, Market Place. Bed., 22. Pens., £4 7/6. W.E., 35/-. Golf, fishing, bowls, tennis, dancing.

ROSS-ON-WYE. — Chase Hotel. Bed., 28; Rec., 5. Pens., 3½ gns.; W.E., 37/6; Lunch, 2/6; Dinner, 4/-. Golf, fishing, tennis, bowls.

SALISBURY, Wilts. — Cathedral Hotel. Up-to-date. H. & C. and radiators in bedrooms. Electric lift. Phone: 399.

SALOP. — Talbot Hotel, Cleobury Mortimer. Bed., 7; Rec., 1. Pens., 84/-. Lun., 3/- and 3/6. Golf, Forderminster.

SCARBOROUGH, Yorks. — Castle Hotel, Queen Street. Bed., 35. Pens., £3 12/6. W.E., 21/-. Golf, cricket, bowls, bathing.

THE RAVEN HALL Hotel, Ravenscar. Bed., 56; Rec., 5. Din., 6/-. Golf, bowls, swimming, billiards, tennis, dancing.

SIDMOUTH. — Belmont Hotel, Sea Front. Bed., 55; Rec., 3. Pens., 1½ to 8 gns. W.E., inclusive 3 days. Bathing, tennis, golf.

SOUTH Uist, Outer Hebrides. — Lochboisdale Hotel. Bed., 32; Rec., 7; Pens., 4 gns. Golf, 5 miles, free to hotel guests. Fishing, shooting, bathing, sailing.

STOKE-ON-TRENT. — Victoria Hotel, Victoria Square, Hanley. Bed., 15; Rec., 1. Pens., £3 5/-; Lun., 2/-; Din., 3/6; Sup., acc. to requirements. Du., golf, tennis.

STOCKBRIDGE, HANTS. — Grosvenor Hotel. Phone: Stockbridge 9. Bed., 14; Rec., 1. Bed and breakfast, 8s. 6d.; double, 14/-. Golf, trout fishing.

STRANRAER, Wigtownshire. — Buck's Head Hotel, Hanover Street. Bed., 18; Pens., £3 10/-; W.E., 12/6 per day. Golf, tennis, fishing, swimming.

TEIGNMOUTH, Devon. — Beach Hotel. H.R.A. Promenade. Excellent position. Moderate inclusive terms. Write for tariff.

TEWKESBURY, Glos. — Royal Hop Pole Hotel. Bed., 45; Rec., 2. Pens., from 5 to 6½ gns. Winter, 3 gns. Golf, fishing, boating, bowls, cricket, hockey.

TORQUAY. — The Grand Hotel. Bed., 200; Rec., 3. Tennis courts; golf, Stover G.C. (free). Hunting, squash court, miniature putting course.

PALM COURT Hotel, Sea Front. Bed., 65; Rec., 6; Pens., from 5 to 7 gns. winter, 4 gns. W.E., fr. 45/-. Tennis, golf, bowls, yachting, fishing.

VIRGINIA Water, Surrey. — Glenridge Hotel. Bed., 18; Rec., 3 and bar. Pens., £4 15/6. W.E., £1 17/6. Golf, Wentworth and Sunningdale, 5/-.

WALTON-ON-NAZE—Hotel Porto Bello, Walton-on-Naze. English catering comfort and attention.

WARWICK.—Lord Leicester Hotel. Bed., 55; Rec., 5. Pens., from 4½ gns. W.E., Sat. to Mon., 33/-. Golf, Leamington, 1½ miles. Tennis.

WINDERMERE.—Riggs's Windermere Hotel. Bed., 60. Pens., 5 to 6 gns. W.E. £2 8/6. Golf, 3/6 daily.

YARMOUTH.—Royal Hotel, Marine Parade. Bed., 85. Pens., from £3/12/6 W.E., 25/-; Lun., fr. 3/6; Din., fr. 4/6. Golf, bowls, tennis, dancing.

HOTELS—Continued UNLICENSED

BLACKPOOL.—Empire Private Hotel. Facing Sea. Best part promenade. H. & C. all bedrooms. Lift to all floors.

BOURNEMOUTH.—Hotel Woodville, 14, Christchurch Road. 1st Class. Chef. Tennis, beach bungalow, garage, 45 cars.

BRIGG, Lincolnshire. — Lord Nelson Hotel. Pens., £3 10/-. Golf, 2 miles away, 2/6 per day, 7/6 per week. Fishing.

BRIGHTON.—Glencoe Private Hotel, 112, Marine Parade. Facing Sea. Telephone: 434711.

BRISTOL.—Cambridge House Hotel, Royal York Crescent, Clifton. Every comfort. Apply prop. L. V. Palmer.

BUDE, N. Cornwall.—The Balconies Private Hotel. Downs view.—Pens., from 2 gns. Golf, boating, fishing, bathing, tennis.

BURNTISLAND, Fifeshire.—Kingswood Hotel. Bed., 10; Rec., 2. Pens., from £3 10/-; W.E., 30/-. Golf, bathing, bowls.

CHELMSFORD, ESSEX.—Ye Olde Rodney, Little Baddow. Pens., 3 gns.; W.E. from 2/6. Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/6. Golf, fishing, yachting, tennis.

CHELTENHAM SPA.—Visit the Bays-hill Hotel, St. George's Road. Central for Cotswold Tours and all amenities. Moderate. Pinkerton. Tel.: 2578.

PYATTS Hotel, Ltd. Pens., £3 13/6; W.E., £1 15/-. Lun., 3/-; Din., 5/-. Golf, polo.

DAWLISH, S. Devon.—Sea View Hotel, ex. Cuisine, every comfort. Write for Tariff. D. Bendall, prop.

EASTBOURNE.—Devonshire Court Hotel, Wilmington Square.—Bed., 15. Pens., from 3 gns.; W.E. from 10/6 per day. Golf, tennis. Winter garden.

EDINBURGH.—St. Mary's Hotel, 32, Palmerston Place.—Pens., from 4 gns. Golf, 2/6. Fishing and tennis in neighbourhood.

FALMOUTH, S. Cornwall.—Boscawen Private Hotel. Centre sea front, facing Falmouth Bay. Illustrated Handbook gratis from Res. Proprs. Phone: 141.

MADEIRA PRIVATE Hotel, Cliff Road. Bed., 58; Rec., 5. Pens., from 3 to 5 gns.; W.E., Sat. to Mon., 25/-. Tennis, golf.

FELIXSTOWE, SUFFOLK.—Bracandale Private Hotel, Sea Front. Bed., 40; Rec., 3. Pens., 3 to 5 gns.; W.E., 21/- to 30/-. Golf, tennis, bowls, putting.

FERNDOWN, Dorset.—The Links, Wimbome Road. Bed., 11; Rec., 2. Pens., 3 gns. to 4 gns.; W.E., 10/6 to 12/6 daily. Golf, 4/- per day (5/- Aug-Sept.).

FOLKESTONE.—Devonshire House Hotel. Est. 34 years. E. light. Central heat. No extras. Tel. 3341.

FOLKESTONE.—THE ORANGE HOUSE Private Hotel, 8, Castle Hill Avenue; 3 mins. to Sea and Leas Cliff Concert Hall. Bed., 13; Rec., 2. Pens., 3-3½ gns. W.E., 10/6 daily. Excellent table.

GOATHLAND, Yorkshire.—Whitfield Private Hotel. Bed., 15. Pens., 3 to 4 gns. Lunch, 2/6 and 3/6; Dinner, 4/-. Golf, 4 miles. Hunting, fishing.

HASLEMERE, Surrey.—Whitwell Hatch —a Country House Hotel. H. & C. Gas fires in bedrooms. Phone 596.

HASTINGS.—Albany Hotel. Best position on the front. 120 rooms. Telephone: 761, 762.

HEREFORD.—The Residence Hotel, Broad Street. Bed., 25. Pens., 3 gns. W.E., from 25/-. Salmon fishing, boating, tennis. Large garage and car park.

ILFRACOMBE.—The Osborne Private Hotel, Wilder Road. Bed., 90; Pens., 2½ to 4½ gns. W.E., 12/- per day. Golf, bowls.

ILFRACOMBE.—Candar Hotel. Sea front. 80 bedrooms. Every modern comfort. Very moderate terms. Write for brochure.

DILKUSA.—GRAND Hotel. Sea front. Cent. 110 bed. all with H. & C. Five large lounges. Dancing. Billiards.

IMPERIAL Hotel. Promenade, facing sea. Well known. Lift. Ballroom. Pens., 3½ to 5 gns. Write for Tariff.

INVERNESS.—ARDLARICH PRIVATE HOTEL, CULDUTHEL ROAD. Tel.: 693. Every comfort. Under personal supervision of the Proprietress. Mrs. J. Macdonald.

LEAMINGTON SPA.—Alkerton Private Hotel, Binswood Avenue. Bed., 18; Rec., 2. Pens., 3 gns. Garden. Golf, half mile away. Tennis, bowls, croquet.

SPA Hotel, Bed., 33; Rec., 6. Pens., 3½ to 4½ gns. W.E., 12/6 to 13/6 per day. Golf, tennis, billiards.

LEICESTER.—Grantham, 57 & 60, Highfield Street. Pens., 3 gns.; W.E., 26/6. Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/-. Golf, tennis.

LINCOLN.—Grand Hotel, St. Mary Street. Bed., 33; Rec., 5. Pens., £3 10/-. Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/-. Golf.

LANGOLEN.—Grapes Hotel. Stay here for Comfort. Fishing, golf. H. & C.

LOCH-SHIEL, ARGYLL. —Ardshalach Hotel, Achacrae. Bed., 8; Rec., 2. Pens., 4 gns.; W.E., £1 10/-; Lun., 3/6; Din., 4/-. G. Golf, fishing, bathing.

LONDON.—Alexandra Hotel (a quiet hotel), 21, 22 and 23, Bedford Place, London, W.C.1. Bed., 45; Rec., 3. Pens., 3 to 4 gns. Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/6.

ARLINGTON HOUSE Hotel, 1-3, Lexham Gardens, Cromwell Road, W.8. Rec., 4; Bed., 35. Pens., from 2½ to 5 gns.

ARTILLERY MANSIONS Hotel, Westminster, S.W.1. Phone: Vic. 0867 and 2003. Bed., 200; Rec., 2. S., 15s. D., 27s. Pens., 5 gns. to 8 gns.

BONNINGTON HOTEL, Southampton Row, W.C.1, near British Museum. 260 Rooms. Room, Bath and Table d'Hôte Breakfast, 8s. 6d.

CORA Hotel, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1. Near Euston and King's Cross Stations. Accom. 230 Guests; Room, bath, and Table d'Hôte breakfast, 8/6.

KENSINGTON PALACE MANSIONS Hotel, De Vere Gardens, W.8. Bed., 270; Rec., 3. Pens., from 5 gns.; W.E., 21/- per day. Social Club. Squash rackets.

LADBROKE Hotel, Ladbroke Gardens, Kensington Park Road, W.11. Bed., 60; Rec., 8. Pens., 2½ to 3½ gns. Garden. Tennis.

LIDLINGTON Hotel, 7, Lidlington Place, N.W.1. T. Mus. 8126. Pens., 3 gns. Lun., 2/-; Tea, 1/-; Dinner, 2/6. Garden.

MANOR HOTEL, 32, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.2. Bed., 75; Rec., 7. Pens., from 3½ gns. single; from 5 gns. double. Garden, Billiards.

NORFOLK RESIDENTIAL Hotel, 80/2, Kensington Gardens Square, W.2. Bays. 3801-2. J. Ralph, prop.

OLD CEDARS Hotel, Sydenham, S.E.26. Bed., 30; Rec., 3. Pens., from 3 gns.; W.E., from 30/-. G. Golf, within 10 minutes. Billiards. Ballroom. Tennis Courts.

PALACE GATE Hotel, Palace Gate, Kensington, W.8. Bed., 30; Rec., 3. Pens., from 3½ gns.; W.E., 30/-.

RAYMOND'S PRIVATE Hotel, 4, Pembroke Villas, Bayswater, W.11. Bed., 30; Rec., 3. Pens., from 2 gns. to £2/12/6.

STANLEY HOUSE Hotel, Stanley Crescent, Kensington Park Road, W.11. Phone: Park, 1183. Bed., 30; Rec., 3. Pens., fr. 2½ gns., 4 gns. double. Tennis.

SOMERS PAYING GUEST HOUSE, 55, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.3. Tel.: Prim. 0242. Bed., 10; Rec., 1. Pens., fr. 3 gns. Tennis.

STRATHALLAN Hotel, 33, Bolton Gardens, S.W.5. Bed., 30. Pens., from 2½ gns. single, 5 gns. double. Billiards.

WEST CENTRAL Hotel, Southampton Row, W.C.1. T. Mus. 1400. Bed., 155; Rec., 5. Pens., 4 gns.; Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/6.

WOODHALL Hotel, College Road, Dulwich, S.E.21. Bed., 14; Rec., 2. Pens., 3 gns. Lun., 2/6; Din., 3/6. Golf, 2/6 per round. Garden, tennis, bridge, croquet.

LYNTON, N. Devon.—Waterloo House Private Hotel, Bed., 16. Rec., 3. Pens., 2 gns. to £2 10/-. Golf, 2 miles. Putting green, bowls, tennis. Centrally situated.

MORTEHOE, N. Devon.—Hillside Private Cottage Hotel. Bed., 25; Rec., 2. Pens., 2 to 3 gns.; W.E., 25/-; Lun., 3/6; Tea, 1/6; Din., 4/6. Golf, riding, tennis, drag hounds.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—Regent Hotel, 55-59, Osborne Road, T. Jesmond, 906. Bed., 36; Rec., 3. Single from 7/6. Garden.

THE OSBORNE Hotel, Jesmond Road. Bed., 30; Rec., 3. Pens., £2 12/6; W.E., £1 7/6. Golf, bowls, tennis, cricket, billiards.

OXFORD.—Castle Hotel. Bed., 16; Rec., 3. Pens., 3½ gns.; W.E., £1 17/6. Lun., 2/-; Din., 3/-.

PHILLACK, Hayle, Cornwall.—Riviera Hotel. Near sea; golf, H. & C. water in all rooms. Recommended A.A.

SCARBOROUGH, Yorks.—Riviera Private Hotel, St. Nicholas Cliff. Bed., 37; Rec., 5. Pens., from £3 17/6; W.E., Sat. to Mon., from £1. Golf, tennis.

SHAFTESBURY, Dorset.—Coombe House Hotel.—Pens., 4 to 7 gns.; W.E., 42/- to 57/-. Golf, private 9-hole, 1/- per day. Tennis, putting, billiards, hunting.

SHANKLIN, I.O.W. —Cromdale Hotel, Keats Green. Bed., 14; Rec., 3. Pens., from 3½ gns. to 6 gns.; W.E., 12/- to 15/- per day. Golf, 2 miles. Tennis.

SOUTHSEA, HANTS.—Pendragon Hotel, Clarence Parade. Bed., 80; Rec., 2. Pens., 4 gns.; W.E., 12/6 per day.

STROUD, Glos.—Prospect House Hotel, Bulls Cross. Bed., 12; Rec., 1. Pens., 3 to 3½ gns. W.E., 12/6 per day. Garden. Golf, riding.

TENBY, Pem.—Cliffe Hotel. Bed., 25; Rec., 3. Pens., 3½ to 5 gns.; W.E., 30/- to 55/-. Tennis, golf, fishing, bathing.

TORQUAY.—Ashley Court Hotel, Abbey Road.—Bed., 30; Rec., 3. Pens., 3 gns. W.E., 30/-. Golf, 1 mile. Garden.

GLEN DEVON Hotel, St. Alban's Road, Babbacombe. Bed., 12; Rec., 1. Pens., 2½ to 3½ gns. Garden, tennis, golf.

NETHWAY PRIVATE Hotel, Falkland Road. Bed., 23; Rec., 2. Pens., from 3 gns. W.E. from 9/- per day. Golf, tennis, fishing.

UIG, Isle of Skye.—Uig Hotel. Bed., 13; Rec., 3. Lun., hot, 3/6; Din., 4/6. Golf, Hotel grounds, fishing, good boating.

MISCELLANEOUS

LANDRINDOD WELLS.—Kingsland Hotel for creature comforts and for miles and miles of preserved Salmon and Trout Waters. Mr. Walter Gallician, authority on fishing, resident for advice and tuition. En Pension from 3 gns. Mr. and Mrs. E. Turnbull, Resident Proprietors.

MEMBERSHIP of the INCOME TAX SERVICE BUREAU brings relief.—Address, Sentinel House, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

THE EMPIRE WEEK BY WEEK

Cabinet by Caucus

From an Australian Correspondent.

IN deciding that future Ministries be elected by the party, the Convention of the United Australia party in Sydney has adopted a principle which long has governed Labour politics in the Commonwealth.

The decision appears to have created some misgiving among other non-Labour parties in Australia, but is not likely to be put to any early severe test.

The essence of the system is the control of the Cabinet by the party in power.

When a Labour Government takes office, its members in both Houses meet together and ballot secretly for the leadership and deputy-leadership of the party, who become Premier and deputy Premier. Then they ballot for the other members of the Cabinet.

The Premier is thus presented with a list of his Ministry, in the choice of which his only authority is his vote and his personal influence. The Premier, however, allots the portfolios.

The system has its advantages and its corresponding drawbacks.

It relieves the Premier of any charge of personal favouritism, it discourages complaints and whispering campaigns by members who have failed to "make" the Ministry, because the result of the ballot leaves them in no doubt as to their own party's opinion of them.

On the other hand, the system can thrust upon the Premier colleagues whom he would hate to have in the Cabinet room.

There is little doubt but that the system of Cabinet-making by caucus saddled the last Labour Prime Minister—Mr. J. H. Scullin—with handicaps from the start of his turbulent and ill-fated Ministry.

The system can irritate and hamper a strong Premier and prey upon one of weaker will.

It may be argued that it is carrying democracy too far to deprive the Premier of the right of choosing his own team.

But it is significant that the dominating party in the "key" State of Australia, one which drove from office the extreme Left Government of Mr. J. T. Lang, should thus take a plank from the Labour platform.

The United Australia Party might roughly be compared in outlook to the Conservatives of England, to whom any such extension of the powers of party machinery would be horrifying.

The decision was taken in the absence of the Premier, Mr. Bertram Stevens, leader of the U.A.P. in the State, who received the news on his way to London.

The fact that he heads a Coalition Ministry of the U.A.P. and the Country Party is a reminder of complications that may be introduced by the Convention's vote.

How are the places in the Ministry to be held by the smaller, but important, Country Party to be allotted?

Labour is the only one of the three important parties in Australia which, when it gains power, can rule unaided.

The Lyons Ministry, after an uneasy alliance with the Country party, brought four of its Ministers into the Cabinet; in South Australia, the Liberals and the Country Party have coalesced, in Victoria the Country Party rules with the consent of Labour. In Queensland, West Australia and Tasmania, the Labour Party rules undivided.

There has so far been no suggestion of the Federal organisation of the United Australia Party considering the adoption of the New South Wales lead. The Country Party, alone, is not a ruling force.

The New South Wales decision must, however, have some influence upon the Federal and the other State parties. The question they must ask themselves is whether future heads of their Ministries are to lead or be driven.

Scouts and the Empire

By G. Delap Stevenson

THE Boy Scout Movement has spread over the whole world, but it has lost none of its significance and importance to the Empire which produced it.

One can say that the Empire produced it, for Lord Baden-Powell started his vital idea after service in India and Africa.

He was a friend of Rudyard Kipling, the girls' side of the movement is called after an Indian regiment, and indeed the atmosphere of Overseas life and pioneering can be felt in the whole inspiration of scouting.

During these last two years Lord Baden-Powell has made extensive Empire tours, first to Australia for the jamboree in connection with the Melbourne centenary and home by Canada, and this year to South and East Africa, from which he is returning towards the end of May.

He has gone full of years, honours, and also energy, and seen that his work is good, now nearly thirty years after its beginning.

There are at present 488,087 boys in the scout movement Overseas, which is an increase of 45,547 over last year.

Some are living under pioneer conditions in which the woodcraft and camping side of scout work are matters of their daily lives.

Such, for example, are some of the

lone scouts and rovers in South Australia or those in the Canadian West, where the scoutmaster may have a troop scattered over some 5,000 square miles.

Some such boys, and guides also, came two hundred miles over bad roads to meet Lord Baden-Powell when he was travelling in Canada.

Others walked twenty miles to see him, while another party travelled with him a certain distance in his train and then did a twenty miles' trek home on foot during the night.

In other parts of the Dominions, however, the scouts are as urbanised, and in as much need of getting away into wild country as those of the big English cities.

As in England, there are special scout camping grounds in different parts of the Dominions, one of the finest of these being Mystery Island, which was established by the late Mr. Noulton Cauchon, on a beautiful lake among the timber forests north of Ottawa.

One of the most interesting things about scouting Overseas is its great value to boys who are not of white race.

In India, Burma and Malaya the movement is forging ahead, and 42,000 of the 45,547 increase over last year is accounted for by India, which now has a total of nearly 300,000.

The Indian Rovers are particularly concerned with propaganda work for health, and sometimes they go out into the villages and set an example by clearing up the village rubbish themselves.

It is not only village rubbish which they have cleared up however. After the Quetta earthquake, under the leadership of Mr. H. W. Hogg, they volunteered for service, and among many other pieces of work, they carried out the burial of more than a thousand corpses, none less than a week old. These boys included high caste Hindus, and Moslems of good family. The Rovers have also done good work in recent serious floods.

In India, and also in the Colonial Empire, the scoutmasters are often teachers, and the movement is closely connected with the educational organisations.

Among the primitive peoples of the colonies scouting is useful, since as practical activity is carried out in a strongly ethical atmosphere, it is a counterpoise to too much book learning.

Even scouting, however, as Lord Baden-Powell has just pointed out in connection with East Africa, must be introduced carefully and with necessary modification.

South Africa has naturally had difficulties over the colour question.

Until recently the only real scouts were Europeans, though organisations on similar lines had been developed among the other races.

It has now been agreed that these outside bodies shall be brought under the main scout movement by means of a federation.

The Scout movement has in the past always encouraged migration, and in the good years after 1934, some 4,000 scouts went Overseas.

Lately, of course, this has practically closed down, but now with the beginning of better times London Headquarters are again opening a list of boys who want to go to the Dominions.

The Johannesburg Exhibition

PREPARATIONS for the great Empire Exhibition at Johannesburg are nearing completion.

The Golden City celebrates its golden jubilee in October, and the exhibition, which will take place between September and January, will be a fitting commemoration of pioneer work and development of the city.

It will be the greatest Empire event since the Wembley Exhibition, and is to be staged on a gigantic and comprehensive scale to demonstrate progress made by the Empire during the past fifty years.

Full details will, in due course, appear in the "Saturday Review," for interest is centred not only in South Africa and England (where it has the strong support of the Grand Council of the Federation of British Industries), but throughout the Empire.

There are already over thirteen acres of buildings under roof available for industrial and commercial exhibits, and further construction is in progress. Commercial exhibits will be grouped under eight main categories.

There will be pavilions displaying the products of Great Britain, the Dominions, Rhodesia and the East African Colonies, while separate buildings will house the exhibits of such large undertakings as the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, the Iscor Steel Works of Pretoria, the South African Railways and the Port of London Authority.

Conferences of important scientific, technical and social bodies are being convened at Johannesburg in conjunction with the Exhibition. Among the local bodies who are planning these functions are the S.A. Association for the Advancement of Science, the S.A. Institute of Electrical Engineers, the S.A. Institute of Engineers, the S.A. Chemical Institute, the Geological Society of S.A., the Institute of South African Architects and others.

In addition negotiations are in progress towards the holding of various conferences on matters of imperial and commercial interest, such as Civil Aviation, Town Planning, Road Construction, Irrigation, Infant Welfare, Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy and Locust Prevention.

Australia Through Foreign Eyes

By "Digger."

IT is not surprising that the complexities of government and economics in Australia should bewilder a foreigner; we ourselves frequently are puzzled to know how we got where we are, and where we are going next.

Mr. Paul Staal, ex-Consul General in Sydney for the Netherlands, is a sagacious and kindly observer, through whose comments* runs a strain of amused, Old World tolerance at the efforts of a young democracy to find salvation by unorthodoxy.

As the representative of a well-ordered, shrewd and patient race, Mr. Staal has endeavoured to analyse the results obtained by a young people in a hurry.

In attempting to fulfil their dream of creating a democratic paradise in their island continent, they have framed the rules to suit their own game.

Mr. Staal thinks that, financially, they are heading for more trouble, just having extracted themselves from the latest crisis. But he knows his Australians well enough to foresee that most of them will laugh at his friendly fears and go on sunning themselves, confident that all will be well.

The first part of Mr. Staal's book is historical. The rest is a survey of the causes leading up to the crisis years 1930-32, the rise and fall of Langism, and of Australia's financial prospects, sprinkled with political and sociological observations.

He concludes that nearly the whole economic structure of Australia—the wool-growing industry is the only important exception—is being maintained artificially, that Australia is living upon borrowed money.

"Grey old Europe shakes her wise head and asks how long these artificial measures can be maintained."

Mr. Staal—who thereby shows his knowledge of the character of the people—gives what would undoubtedly be Australia's answer:—

"Australia smiles. She is used to artificial constructions. Was not White Australia herself created artificially? . . . A catastrophe has often been predicted, but never materialised. Australia will not believe that she is living beyond her income. She will not cut her coat according to her cloth. She tries to stretch the cloth until it is large enough for the coat she desires. If she goes on stretching, some day the cloth will burst into shreds."

Australians will ask, too, is Europe's grey old head so wise? They will point to other and more perilous artifices she maintains.

Mr. Staal charges Australian workmen with slothfulness. He says the

*A Foreigner Looks at Australia. By Paul Staal, Johnathan Cape, 7/6.

working classes have no immediate stake in the general welfare of the country, and that their attitude will not change so long as a certain standard of living is guaranteed to them in all circumstances.

Here is Europe again wringing her hands over Australia's interpretation of the economic rules. Mr. Staal admits that nobody in Australia would dare to impose a policy that would permanently lower the standard of living.

Old World parity is not acceptable. Mr. Staal seems to be astonished at a recent argument that the basic wage should include an amount to allow a labourer to have his trousers pressed once a week.

Among the anomalies which Mr. Staal criticises, but which he somewhat hesitantly admits, work—in Australia—is compulsory voting. Free men and women, he says are driven to the polling booths under penalty of fine.

"This is probably the only case in which failure to exercise a right is made a punishable offence. The much glorified battle for equality of rights has thus led to political slavery."

But it has brought the percentage of voters from below 60 per cent. in 1922 to 95 per cent. in 1934.

A Curious Little Nation

THE Hottentots of Rehoboth form one of the most remarkable little nations and also one of the most interesting Hottentot clans in the South-West African Protectorate.

The main railway line to Windhoek runs through the territory of these people, most of whom live to the west of it and largely in the little town of Rehoboth.

These "Bastaards" or "Burghers," are descendants of the men who trekked up from the Cape many years ago.

They always refer to their ancestors as the Voortrekkers, and this epic in their sad history is as important to them as the story of the Boer Voortrekkers is to the South African.

The area of the country is about 7,000 square miles, although the tribe claims that it should be at least twice this size, for they have at different times been forced to sign away portions of their territory.

These people, on the whole, are honest and law-abiding, with a very distinct sense of nationhood.

They are not very prosperous, do not work very hard, but this is due more to few outlets for their energies than to natural indolence.

They have undoubtedly deteriorated, and it is probable that within a few score years the whole race will have died out.

Since South Africa has had the mandate over this territory, there have been a few unpleasant incidents, but the people seem to be content with the modern method of administration, and there is little likelihood of any serious outbreak.

FORGOTTEN DEEDS OF THE EMPIRE

The First English Companies for Trade Overseas

By Professor A. P. Newton

THE early roots of England's Empire oversea go deeper than the first permanent colonies that were founded beyond the Atlantic, and must be sought a century earlier when Henry VII, the first, and in some ways the greatest, builder of the Tudors, strove to make his merchants masters of their own export trade.

It was in Virginia in 1607 and Bermuda in 1615 that Englishmen first established lasting colonies on American soil.

But the ways in which those colonies were governed and maintained had been learned long before among colonies of Englishmen living their own corporate life and governing themselves in the great commercial centres of Europe.

In the Middle Ages England was not a country exporting manufactured goods, but a source of raw materials like Australia is to-day.

Her prosperity was built upon her exports of wool, and the organisation that looked after those exports and safeguarded their standards of quality, the Merchants of the Staple, was very powerful.

There was another body of merchants whose business was mainly concerned with imports, the naval stores of hemp, pitch and tar, masts and cordage that came from Dantzic and Poland and the countries round the Baltic.

These were the Eastland Merchants, whose standard of value in the coins they used to pay for their goods remains till to-day.

Their money was called "Easterling money" or shortly "sterling," and it had a high reputation for fineness and regularity of standard.

In the fifteenth century, however, the export of English wool save under licence was prohibited in order to encourage its wearing into cloth, and this led to the decline of the Merchants of the Staple and the rise of the Company of Merchants Adventurers who organised the export of the cloth and saw to its distribution all over Central Europe.

The Merchants Adventurers were the most important corporation in England in the sixteenth century, and undoubtedly our colonial beginnings are to be found in the self-governing colonies they were allowed to set up, first in Antwerp and after its downfall in the great Netherlands wars, in Middelburg, Stade and Hamburg in turn.

Their "house" or "factory" in Antwerp was typical of those that succeeded it and was the prototype of all our early factories in India or on the West Coast of Africa which were organised on exactly the same plan.

A concession was procured from the Prince or Council who ruled the city to occupy certain buildings or a certain piece of ground and to govern themselves therein, not by the laws of the city, but by English law.

In fact a little piece of England was set down in foreign territory and there the English merchants and their employees lived under their own Governor assisted by his Councillors and according to their own customs.

In the first half of the sixteenth century Antwerp was by far the greatest commercial mart in Europe.

Thither came merchants from every European country to trade and exchange their own commodities for what they needed. Each nationality lived in its own community, so that the English Merchants Adventurers were not unique, but they were among the most important, for their English cloth was in demand all over the Continent as far East as Hungary and even Turkey.

By their upright and honest dealings their credit stood high, while their good management of affairs within their own colony gave them experience which was to be of vital importance when English laws and institutions were to be carried out to colonies beyond the Ocean.

Flying Boat Bases in India

A PARTY of experts have been making a tour of inspection by air of the proposed flying boat route across India in order to select bases and make other arrangements in connection with the Empire air mail service. They have flown from Karachi to Calcutta stopping at various stations on the way.

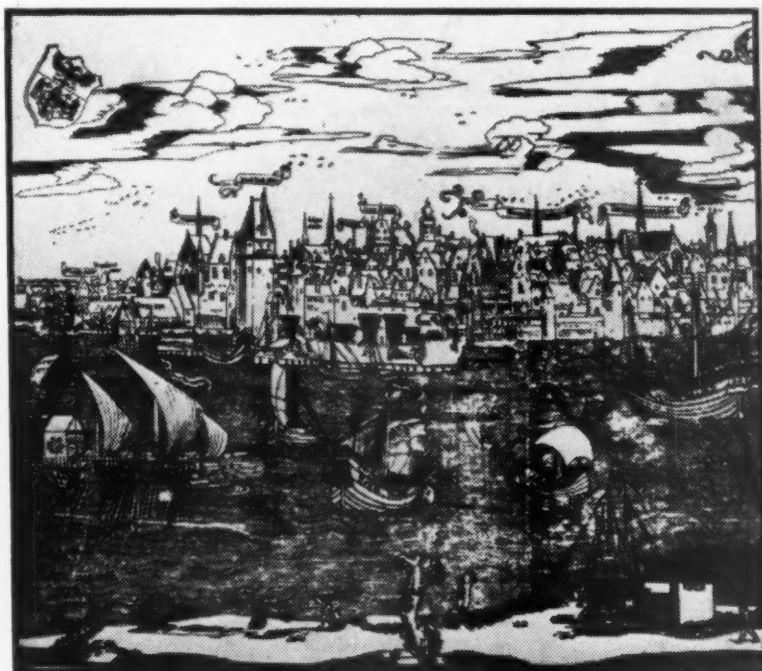
Flying boat bases, it is understood, will be established at Karachi, Sardar Samand, Gwalior (Tighara), Allahabad and Calcutta.

So far as Calcutta is concerned the flying boat base is likely to be near the Akra Reach.

This site is stated to be conveniently situated as it can be reached by launch or by motor car, the latter journey taking about 25 minutes. This area gives the best run in all directions of the wind and, with the permission of the Port Commissioners, it is hoped that the Empire flying boat service will find this site suitable.

If, however, Akra Reach is found to be impracticable, the alternative site will be north of the Willingdon Bridge. This site, however, does not provide water suitable for all directions of the wind though it is comparatively free of shipping.

It is intended in the early stages not to attempt night flying but as the crews of the flying boats get accustomed to the peculiar conditions, efforts will be made to speed up the service by night flying which was the original intention for the successful operation of the service between England and Australia.



Antwerp was the most active commercial mart in Europe during the early 16 century, and this contemporary illustration shows it at the height of its prosperity. Note the English quay and the Venetian oared galley in the river. (From an engraving in the Royal Library at Brussels)

COMPANY MEETING

Imperial Chemical Industries

Further Steady Progress at Home

Sir Harry McGowan's Review

THE ninth annual general meeting of Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited, was held on Monday at Queen's Hall, London, W.

Sir Harry McGowan, K.B.E., D.C.L., LL.D. (chairman of the company), commenced his speech by expressing regret at the great loss suffered through the death of the Marquess of Reading, who had been a director since the formation of the company in 1926 and president since 1930. They had elected, he said, Mr. H. J. Mitchell to be president and Mr. H. O. Smith to be a director.

Dealing with the report of the directors, he said: There are only two home matters on which I wish to say a few words. The new coal hydrogenation petrol plant at Billingham is working satisfactorily, having regard to the magnitude of the enterprise and the unique nature of the process. Every new factory requires a certain time to shake down and get into full running order, even where the method of production is familiar. In the case of a novel process troubles are likely to be more persistent because careful observation must precede each modification. While that is our experience at Billingham, we have encountered no fundamental difficulty, and we shall, I think, shortly reach the full measure of our original expectation.

The other matter is our acquisition from Messrs. du Pont of their interest in Nobel Chemical Finishes, Limited. This company carries on a very large paint, varnish and cellulose finish business, one which is expanding rapidly, and is, moreover, of a satisfactorily remunerative nature. Although Messrs. du Pont have relinquished their financial interest in this business, we shall still retain the great benefits to be derived from technical co-operation with them in this field.

Australia

In Australia there has been a marked improvement during 1935, and the prospects for 1936 are encouraging. The Australian company's sales of explosives again show a substantial expansion. In view of the attractive conditions in the gold-mining industry, this increase is expected to continue. Dyestuffs sales again increased satisfactorily and some progress has been made in the sale of pesticides. Fertilisers also improved a little, but a larger local steel production carries with it a further growth in the manufacture of sulphate of ammonia, which affects the sales of our material. Negotiations for the site for the alkali plant and the accompanying salt fields, referred to in my speech last year, have been completed, and work on the salt fields has been commenced. A period of two years will probably be required for the completion of the whole undertaking.

The sales of other products show no important changes. The results of the company's operations last year were satisfactory, and its prospects for the current year are good. In New Zealand the rate of improvement has been rather less marked, but the Dominion has also benefited from enhanced prices of primary products, and sales of our goods have been well maintained.

Canada and South Africa

As regards Canada, economic conditions improved steadily throughout the year, and although all industries have not participated equally in this recovery, there are indications that it is becoming more evenly distributed. Canadian Industries, Limited, had a satisfactory year, and, although the margin of profit of a great many products lessened, due to lower selling prices and higher costs of raw materials, resulting in slightly lower profits than those achieved in 1934, sales increased substantially, and the company looks forward to further progress during 1936.

In South Africa, African Explosives and Industries, Limited, has had another good year. The gold mining industry continues to expand, new areas are being opened up and, owing to the present price of gold, lower-grade ore can be profitably worked, thus lengthening the life of some of the mines. The outlook is steady and promising.

Production of explosives for the year established a new record, and considerable capital expenditure is being incurred to increase the capacity of the Modderfontein factory in the Transvaal, in order to keep pace with the growing demands of the mines.

Export Markets

Compared with the previous year, the volume of British export trade to overseas markets has shown a general and steady expansion in which we have participated, and reflects the slow but widespread improvement in world economic conditions. Currency and exchange regulations are still a deterrent to full recovery, but their effect has been to some extent mitigated by various clearing and payment agreements which, though still hampering free commercial intercourse, do in most cases afford a prospect of shippers of goods being paid for them without indefinite delay.

The satisfactory increase in the volume of our export trade has not been obtained without a vigorous and determined price policy operated mainly through our network of merchant companies abroad.

Various plans and proposals for the extension of our manufacturing interests abroad have been followed up by investigations and actual developments. In Argentina the company which was formed to merge the interests of your own company with those of Messrs. du Pont is consolidating and extending its activities, and in Brazil negotiations are well advanced for the establishment of a similar undertaking. In India our study continues of the problems likely to arise in the manufacture of alkali, and the possibility is being closely examined of the local manufacture of other products on a basis advantageous both to your company and to Indian consumers.

Economic Nationalism

Economic nationalism is still persistent throughout the world, for not only has it sprung from political conditions, but it will remain so long as political conditions continue to be unsatisfactory. So far as one's vision can pierce the future, there seems little likelihood of any disappearance of this feature. I.C.I. is, therefore, regrettably forced to follow its tendencies by adopting a policy of entering upon the establishment of local factories, wherever the demand in a country is sufficiently large to make the establishment of an enterprise there economically sound. By this policy we combine manufacture on the spot with some share in the remaining import trade. As the local market grows, imports tend to decrease. In consequence, we gradually face a reduction of manufacture at home. While this is to be regretted, no alternative presents itself.

The smaller nations, as they grow in wealth and ability, cannot be expected to refrain from establishing for themselves in their own country such a basic industry as chemical manufacture—valuable for peace purposes and, at the same time, essential for defence. The products of local manufacture naturally secure a welcome denied to imports. As each of these projects gets under way it complicates our problems, problems not only of management but of the maintenance of the necessary technical co-operation, in order that, notwithstanding the small scale on which some of these enterprises are commenced,

IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES Company Meeting (Continued)

they may not be lacking in knowledge of the latest progress in science and technique.

Reorganisation of Capital

At the extraordinary general meeting of the company held on May 1st, 1935, the necessary resolutions were passed for the purpose of putting in force the board's scheme for the reorganisation of the capital of the company. All the steps proposed lay within the power of the company with the exception of one, and that a step which was entirely consequential upon the adoption of the proposals, namely, the reduction of the amount of the former deferred capital. Under the Companies Act that step required the sanction of the Court; almost twelve months have now gone and still I cannot tell you the final result. In the Court of First Instance Mr. Justice Eve, after seven days' hearing, allowed the company's petition and confirmed the reduction of the nominal issued capital of the company by £5,434,000. The deferred shareholders, who had opposed the scheme were required to pay their own costs. Notice of Appeal was given, and the Court of Appeal, after four days' hearing, dismissed that appeal with costs against the appellant deferred shareholders. Leave to appeal to the House of Lords was refused by the Court of Appeal, but application for that leave is now being made to the House of Lords.

Profits and Dividends

The company's net profits show a further moderate increase of £357,000. This net income is arrived at after providing £1,000,000 for the Central Obsolescence and Depreciation Fund and the necessary amount for the company's income tax. The board have again appropriated £1,000,000 to the general reserve and have also this year put aside £150,000 for a Workers' Pension Fund.

In considering the dividend policy the board found themselves in a difficult position, because the decisions in the Supreme Court in regard to the company's scheme for the reorganisation of capital could not yet be taken as final. After consultation with counsel, and on their advice, the board have followed the course already announced, namely, they recommend a final dividend of 5½ per cent. on the Ordinary stock, which represents the former Ordinary shares, payable on June 1st, 1936. With the 2½ per cent. interim dividend on this stock already paid on November 1st, 1935, the dividend for the year thereon will be 8 per cent. The board also recommend a dividend of 4 per cent. on that Ordinary stock which represents the former deferred shares.

The Balance Sheet

Acting again on the advice of counsel, the board have shown the company's capital in the balance sheet on the basis of the legal position as it existed at December 31st—namely, as reduced consequentially on the scheme for the reorganisation of capital—i.e. :—

Ordinary stock, which was formerly Ordinary shares	£43,760,000
Ordinary stock, which was formerly Deferred shares	5,434,000
	£49,194,000

At December 31st, 1934, the company's reserves stood as follows :—

Capital reserve	£5,560,000
Free reserve	£5,000,000
Central obsolescence and depreciation fund	£3,140,000

At December 31st, 1935, the board carried the amount of £5,434,000, by which the capital has been reduced, to the capital reserve, in accordance with the resolutions passed at the Extraordinary General Meeting on May 1st, 1935, but have shown it separately, pending the final result of the petition for the reduction of capital and the subsequent decision of the board in regard to this sum. The appropriations I have mentioned will raise the free reserve from £5,000,000 to £6,000,000, and the central obsolescence and depreciation fund from £3,140,000 to £4,140,000.

The Company's Policy

From a perusal of our annual report, with its record of growth in the volume of business, of capital extensions, etc., a larger increase in the company's profits might perhaps have been expected by shareholders. I

must remind you, however, of the company's policy, which I have dealt with in these annual speeches from time to time. We endeavour to combine every possible extension of our activities with a consistent care of the prices we charge for our products. As a quasi-national organisation, serving practically all the major industries of the country, we endeavour to preserve the shareholders' capital and to make it reasonably remunerative; to provide our customers with the finest products and give them also the most attentive service; to keep in the forefront of technical progress by active and original research; to recruit the finest material possible for employees of all grades, and to enlist their loyalty and interest by giving our workers and staff the best working conditions, as well as by caring for their physical and mental needs—the co-operation of loyal workers is one of the most valuable assets the company possesses—and to keep our prices as low as possible, consistent with the foregoing principles. Low prices in the long run stimulate a greater volume of trade, as our products are the raw material for the great industries of this country. The less we charge the more competitive should our customers become, and every increase in their trade means a greater volume in our own.

Such a policy spells long-continued success, and is, I submit to you, more likely than any other so to build up the strength of the organisation that it shall endure through long years to come, able to meet any competition that is offered to it and still provide the shareholders with a gilt-edged industrial investment.

The Royal Commission on Arms

You may expect me to say something about the position of our company and what its contribution may be in times of crisis. The company has presented its evidence to the Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of and Trading in arms. We did not confine ourselves merely to refuting the allegations that the company was in the main a munitions producer, but endeavoured to demonstrate how our developments of recent years, purely on a peace-time basis, had provided a national asset which would be invaluable in time of crisis.

As far as profits to be made out of war-time needs are concerned, I told the Royal Commission that I was responsible to you, ladies and gentlemen, for providing a fair return on the money invested, and that I desired no more and no less. I also added that the company's staff would discuss with representatives of the Government at any time our costs of production and agree with them what was a fair return on the capital involved. This made the I.C.I. policy perfectly clear, a policy which will, I believe, be fully supported by the shareholders.

Prospects for 1936

My views of the future are clouded in one respect. I refer to coal, which in this country is the basis of power for all the major industries, and in addition for us is a vital raw material. The problems of its supply and price are, therefore, of prime national importance.

Any substantial increase in the price of coal must affect industrial consumers, both directly and indirectly—first, on their own purchases, and, secondly, through the increased prices of all their other goods arising from the additional coal costs of other suppliers. Further, if it is intended to expand exports of coal, by lower prices to foreign buyers, and to recoup the loss by still higher prices to industrialists at home, our competitive power will be doubly hit, for we shall be paying part of our competitors' costs as well as all our own. I feel sure that a statesmanlike price policy will prevail and that the new powers to be conferred will not blind the mining industry to the necessity of sparing no effort to bring its organisation to a point at which increased labour costs will be largely, if not entirely, absorbed by contra economies.

Both at home and abroad, daily anxieties beset your board, but you can rest assured that they spare no effort, with the aid of their able staff, to guard your business against any permanent harm, while at the same time taking advantage of any opportunities which can be found to develop either new manufactures or trade, within the sphere of the company's legitimate activities.

The report and accounts were adopted.

Lloyds and the Budget

By Our City Editor

WHATEVER unpleasant Budget shocks the Chancellor of the Exchequer may have in store for industry and trade, the underwriters of Lloyds have always been able to provide insurance against their adverse effects owing to the careful manner in which Budget secrets have been guarded. It is, to say the least, unfortunate that such does not appear to have been the case with the recent Budget and the fact that last-minute insurances were effected against totally unexpected increases in income-tax and tea duty suggests conditions which would make Budget insurance impossible. The Chancellor has now asked Lloyds to institute careful inquiries, but surely, as any leakage could have occurred only through official quarters, the onus of inquiry falls rather upon the Government than upon the victims of such a leakage.

Tax Evasion

On the question of tax evasion, the Chancellor is making a "dead set" at educational trusts which, though possibly costly to the Treasury, are still of great benefit to the hard-pressed middle-class taxpayer. One of the chief complaints against direct taxation is the tremendous amount of evasion which takes place and it seems that the Treasury is determined to exact its full pound of flesh from the salaried and pensioned man and other receivers of fixed incomes while ignoring the cheap-jack trader and others who manage to avoid income-tax. The practice of "washing of stocks," i.e., selling them temporarily to foreign banks in order to avoid tax on the dividend, is still apparently to go unchecked, presumably because the Government benefits indirectly from it in the terms upon which it is able to finance conversion and other loan operations. It would be of interest to know how much the standard rate of income tax could be lowered if there were to be no evasion by any class.

Dunlop Disappointment

Though the absence of an interim dividend should have prepared the market for a reduction in profits of the Dunlop Rubber Company last year, having regard to the obvious rise in raw material prices, the actual results were followed by a drop in the £1 stock units of about 2s. to 36s. 6d. The preliminary figures show profits for 1935 of £1,288,244 as compared with £1,687,687 for the previous year. The dividend is maintained at 8 per cent. with £419,761 to taxation reserve, against £550,000, and £100,000 to contingencies, as in the previous year,

though no transfer is made to dividend reserve, against £250,000.

After payment of the dividend the "carry forward" will be slightly higher at £589,940. The Dunlop Company is very much affected by conditions in overseas markets and this fact was borne in mind when some time ago a comparison of the yields on Imperial Chemical and Dunlops was made in these columns. With the recent fall in Dunlops, the position is reversed, for the yield on the stock units is now 4½ per cent. as against 4 per cent. on Imperial Chemical ordinary.

Bryant & May

Bryant and May Ltd., are continuing the steady increase in profits which has been the company's record now for some years past. Profits for 1935-36 amounted to £584,952 as against £571,249 in the previous year, £50,000 having been written of fixed assets and tax provided for. The dividend is again 25 per cent. free of tax for the year on the ordinary shares, held by the British Match Corporation, but this year there is no special bonus dividend to swell the reserves of the parent company. From the past year's profits £100,000 is placed to reserve and £109,330 remains to be carried forward compared with £82,455 brought in. The liquid position of the Company is again remarkably strong.

Eagle Star Meeting

Sir Edward Mountain's review of insurance progress at the meeting of the Eagle Star and British Dominions Company last week was of more than domestic interest for he dealt with problems affecting the insurance world as a whole. He mentioned the attention paid by the industrial companies to group life and pension schemes. On the question of motor insurance, in which department the Eagle Star writes a very large amount of business without corresponding profit, Sir Edward indicated the possibility of an upward revision of premiums in view of the increasing cost of settling personal claims. The resolution for the creation of 144,044 of new ordinary shares of £3 each, was approved, and of these 66,919 are offered to present shareholders, one new share for every four held, at £20 per share, which compares with a price of over £24 for the existing shares.

London & Lancashire

The London and Lancashire Insurance Company's results for the past year are notable for the big increase in profits from Fire business as well as for the strength which the accounts display. Fire premiums amounted to £2,813,404, yielding the handsome profit of £443,789, a tribute to the class of business underwritten. Marine profits at £185,508 show an advance of £50,000 on the previous year, and the total profit balance is £1,194,657, as compared with £1,228,658 a year previously, the latter including £114,253 from E.P.D. reserve. After payment of the dividend of £1 per share, the reserve fund is raised to £2,000,000 by the allocation of £500,000, the undivided balance being £2,134,191. The London and Lancashire operates all classes of business, largely through subsidiary companies.

INSURE WITH

The London & Lancashire

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